Michigan History



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MICHIGAN HISTORY

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The Economist and the Historian

Richard M. Alt

THE ECONOMIST AND THE HISTORIAN are known as social scientists.¹ They share with other social scientists the task of studying and interpreting human behavior. Their methods and objectives differ. As an economist, I should like to discuss what seems to me to be the chief points of similarity and difference in the work of the economist and the work of the historian. To provide a framework for this discussion we can advance two questions: first, what is the economist trying to do? and, second, what is the historian trying to do? In the course of answering these questions I believe that some of the likenesses and distinctions between economists and historians will appear.

What is the economist trying to do? The answer to this question turns, in the first instance, upon the word "economist." Clearly, there is no warrant for designating as economists only those who make their livings on university campuses. It would be even less justifiable to restrict the term economist to those alone who deal in the "pure" science of economic theory. An acceptable definition of economist must include not only those who deal chiefly in economic theory and those who deal in "applied" subjects such as money and banking or labor economics, but it must also include business school professors whose chief interest is in accounting or financial management, it must include government economists, it must bring within its scope the economists of investment houses and industrial corporations, and it may include even the miscellaneous band of crackpots and charlatans who have ready panaceas for all economic ills.

¹This article is based on a paper presented before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, April 25, 1947. The author is indebted to Dr. Richard C. Overton of Northwestern University for helpful criticism of the manuscript.

What is it which binds together this motley crew, the vendor of economic nostrums and the professor, the Department of State expert and the meat-packing economist, the accountant and the home economist? The common element which is to be found in all economics-pure and applied-is not a uniform method (much as we should like to have the public believe this), it is not a generally recognized area of economic data, it is not the existence of distinct economic problems, it is not even the orientation toward common goals. In all these matters, which are nonetheless relevant to a consideration of economics, we find controversy and disagreement among economists. The universal element is none of these; it is the single underlying fact of scarcity which conditions the efforts of all who seek to understand and work with economic phenomena. nomics," says Lionel C. Robbins, "is the science which studies human behavior as a relationship between ends and scarce means which have alternative uses."2

The economist, whatever his special field of endeavor, is trying to explain, or perhaps to give direction to, human behavior in the face of scarcity. Let us see how this definition works out. The cost accountant, to take one example, is concerned with the determination of the expenses involved in the production of a particular commodity. say, an automobile. His immediate problem may be the allocation and summation of accounting charges involved in the operation of a particular department such as the steel casting shop. In order to solve this problem the accountant finds it necessary to tally direct labor costs incurred by this department. Why is management interested in these costs? It is precisely because the successful conduct of its business depends on the wise allocation of its limited, that is, scarce, resources of cash to the most efficient, that is, least cost, production of these steel castings. To pursue the example: the castings, when combined with other parts in the finished automobile, command a price on the consumer goods market. (It is hoped, of course, that the price will be high enough to cover all outlays involved in the production of the automobile, with a margin of net profit as reward to the owners of the plant-though this is not necessary in the short run.) We may ask: Why do the castings incorporated in the end

²Lionel C. Robbins, An Essay on the Nature and Significance of Economic Science, 2nd edition revised, 16 (London, 1935).

product command this price? Again, it is because of the operation of the basic fact of scarcity.

Now, in the example I have given, it is possible that the cost accountant—whom we can look on as an "applied" economist—may go about his day-to-day activities with no conceptual understanding of the fact of scarcity. That need not worry us. The point is that he acts and relates his actions the one to the other in a manner which shows that he understands the fact of scarcity. His is a science which studies scarce technical means so that the facts about them may be set opposite those of human behavior (demands) as they appear in the market. Much the same might be said for all those whose occupation it is to study and use the facts of scarcity. It might be claimed that the most numerous class of economist is the business man himself, in that he is constantly assembling and acting upon facts of scarcity. But here we must draw a distinction. The businessman. though greatly concerned with human behavior, is not a scientist. He directs his attention primarily to the formation and execution of policy based on facts of scarcity; he is ordinarily not interested in the collection and analysis of facts as such. We exclude from our definition of economist, therefore, those whose primary interest lies not in analysis but in action.

The profession of economist embraces a wide range of specialists who, being specialists, have developed their own techniques for dealing with the distinctive problems of their fields. The management engineer concerns himself with time and motion studies, the financial specialist with balance sheets, the statistician with frequency series. These techniques are all reflections, in particular form, of the universal fact of scarcity.

There was a time when all economists possessed a broad knowledge of the general principles of scarcity, that is, of economic theory. In university faculties, in the government service, in private industry this presumption of broad understanding of economic theory still obtains. Witness the insistence by employers—whether deans or corporation presidents—on possession of the "union card," the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Despite lip service to the ideal of general training, however, it is undeniable that the practitioners of economic analysis in specialized forms do not usually base their conclusions

on the tenets of economic theory.³ Partly to relieve their professional consciences of the need for economic theory, specialized economists have (unfortunately, in my opinion) come to designate themselves as statisticians, accountants, marketing men, and so forth. These preferences for certain terminology seem unimportant; the fact remains that these individuals are all dealing, each in his restricted area, with what can properly be termed economic problems.

The general principles of scarcity are most consciously handled, not by the specialist, but by the economist who calls himself a theorist. In the work of the economic theorist we can see most clearly the essential nature of economic science, because in economic theory we are dealing with the "stripped model" of the product. The work of the theorist is characterized by several distinctive features among which can be mentioned a well-articulated method of analysis, a more or less definite body of data, a range of typical problems, and certain standards for individual and social performance.

The method of economic analysis is founded primarily on deductive reasoning. The single postulate of scarcity gives form to all economic argument. All conclusions in economic analysis necessarily derive from this beginning. Now it is true, that the particular forms which scarcity assumes and the institutions through which it is realized are sometimes of the utmost complexity. And it is also true that institutional manifestations of the economic process change over time. It is this condition which has lead (I might say mislead) institutionalists into repudiation of economic theory. That economists should build on fact and make frequent correction and modification of theory by reference to fact is imperative. It is equally important

³Speaking of the training of men of his own generation, prior to 1900, Wesley C. Mitchell states: "Supposedly, our central body of theory held together our wide-ranging studies in public finance, money and banking, agricultural problems, tariff problems, labor problems, and the like. But now that the problems upon which we specialize have grown so numerous, now that each of them have been subdivided for more detailed inquiry, and now that we are so immersed in factual researches, we often feel, . . . that the science is disintegrating. Frequently a specialist will say boldly that he gets little help from economic theory. Our monographs confirm that impression. Writers upon the money market seldom take their cues from Bohm-Bawerk's, Fisher's and Fetter's disquisitions upon the theory of interest. Writers upon labor problems do not often start their discussions of wage rates with the general theory of value and distribution." Wesley C. Mitchell, "Economics," in A Quarter Century of Learning, edited by Dixon Ryan Fox, 52 (New York, 1931).

that economic reasoning—which will ever run in advance of the establishment and collation of fact—be founded on the hard core of abstract theory. Essentially, this course is what all economists—neoclassicists and institutionalists alike—are following. The difference is that the latter allow theory to slip in clandestinely, by the backdoor—and it is sometimes rather imprecise theory thus admitted.

An economic fact is one which pertains to scarcity or to conditions affecting the scarcity of a good. We might say, for example, that excess capacity exists in the cotton textile industry. That is an economic fact. It is an economic fact because it indicates a maladjustment in the allocation of scarce resources between the cotton textile industry and other industries. Further, it indicates a certain intensity in the appreciation of scarcity by consumers of cotton textiles. Insofar as the data of economics are preferences of individuals—value judgments—these data are human. But the nature of economic data is equally determined by science and technology. It is the interplay of technologic and evaluative determinants which define the peculiar nature of economic data.

Just as there are economic facts, so there are typical economic problems. Historically, the problem attracting the chief attention of economists has been the determination of value, price. Economics has even been defined as the science of price. The determination of value still lies at the heart of economics, but this must not be thought of in the relatively simple terms of the price-making forces operating in the case of a single commodity such as wheat. Rather, the thread of value is woven through the entire fabric of the economy: in the business cycle, in labor relations, in international exchange. These problems are not solely in the province of the economist but their economic side, that of value and scarcity, defines for him a distinct area of activity. How individuals arrive at economic judgments-whether through the pursuit of carnal pleasure or through devotion to the loftiest idealism-these are not economic problems, though they may be issues of major importance to the philosopher, the psychologist, the religious leader. It matters not to the economist why an individual chooses; whether, for example, he be investing funds as the treasurer of a philanthropic foundation or whether he be engaged in preclusive buying, desperate economic warfare, as the agent of a Fascist state. It matters not why he chooses; it matters

only that he chooses. It is this choice which presents the economic problem.

Finally, we have the matter of economic standards of performance. How are we to judge what is desirable and what is undesirable? The economist answers this question; whether for a business firm or for society at large, by investigating the proposed allocation of (scarce) resources among alternative uses. If the plan for use of resources, human or material, shows that the preferences of the individual or of society are satisfied, the allocation is good. If some other combination of resources would come closer to satisfying these purposes, then the plan is inefficient in that it falls short of the result possible through this other combination. Given the preferences of individuals and the existing state of industrial techniques, there is one best arrangement of economic resources.

Now, it is fair to say that not all the problems of the individual or society stem from allocation of resources among various alternative uses. In actual fact rates of utilization of resources, as shown for example by the number of unemployed workers, is of greater immediate importance than allocation of resources. In the first instance we are all of us more concerned about preserving full employment than we are about attaining maximum efficiency in distributing workers and capital among the several tasks of an economic society. This is because the incidence of unemployment is on the individual, for whom no amount of improved allocation can outweigh the disadvantage of losing his job.

The conflict between these two standards of performance, the one immediate and human, the other removed but logically compelling, has divided economists. The earlier presumption of economic theory that market forces would reach a competitive equilibrium, given time, has been superseded by the realization that there are many lets and hindrances which prevent this result. It is the existence of these obstacles to competitive equilibrium which gives importance to the problem of full employment. Basically, however, there is no conflict in the two criteria for economic policy; one is appropriate to the short run, the other to the long term.

From the work of the economist I turn to the task of the historian. What is the historian trying to do? This question has been answered

in a great many different ways by a succession of distinguished historians.4 We can do no better than to review their answers and compare them with what we have found out about the job of the economist.

There is less difficulty in determining the professional locus of the historian than there is in determining that of the economist. Most historians are to be found on college campuses, to judge from the list of membership of the American Historical Association. Here and there is an archivist, a member of a state historical commission, or an historically inclined dilettante. But most historians are from colleges and universities. That fact in some ways simplifies the understanding of what historians are trying do.

History is the study of the past. Just as economists are primarily concerned with human behavior in the face of scarcity, so historians are chiefly concerned with human behavior in former times. "In pursuance of the goal he has chosen, the historian finds himself confronted with a double task. He must first of all establish the facts which constitute the materials of his study, then make use of them."5 The latter effort, which Henri Pirenne has called "historical construction," is essentially the recreation of the picture of the past in all its depth and fullness.

Only fragmentary evidence of the past remains. Historians might at first be thought handicapped by the meagerness of fact left over from the past. But theirs is actually an embarrassment of riches because the total weight of recorded fact-although a small part of the original data-is many times beyond the strength of any single investigator to carry. As Joseph R. Strayer has suggested, "it would be very difficult for anyone to assimilate, classify and reduce to general terms all the factual statements in a single issue of the New York Times,"6 much less the bulk of evidence available in libraries. There are masses of fact which pertain to the past, but this does not make of them historical facts in the sense that they are imbued with some

⁴See, for example, Henri Pirenne, "What Are Historians Trying to Do?" in Methods in Social Science, edited by Stuart A. Rice, 435-38 (Chicago, 1931); R. M. McIver, "History and Social Causation," in the Journal of Economic History, 3:135-45 (December, 1943); Jacques Barzun and others, The Interpretation of History, edited by Joseph R. Strayer (Princeton, 1943).

⁵Pirenne, "What Are Historians Trying to Do?," 437.

⁶Strayer, The Interpretation of History, 8.

distinctive attribute of history. Most facts about the past are neither important nor relevant to the task of the historian.

Let us examine the historian's process of selection more closely. We must assume that he employs his sense of logic to complete the pattern which, from the flow of his evidence, appears to be developing. The historian is in the position of one fitting together the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle: He uses certain touchstones of classification, similarity, or complementarity in shapes and colors of the pieces, and so proceeds from one step to the next. But the analogy is misleading. In the jigsaw puzzle the player can, with confidence, know that only one pattern can be the outcome. It is not so with historiography. There may be many possible patterns, many explanations of the course of human behavior. Historians have frequently defended the evident inconsistency in successive historical writings with the dictum that each age must write its own history. This assertion underscores the fact that the historian's method is necessarily highly subjective. Even assuming the possibility of establishing black-and-white, incontrovertible facts about the past, the selection of appropriate data and the combination of them in a connected narrative involves personal judgment. The historian's narrative actually involves more of art than of science.

Now let us turn to the standards by which the historian judges social performance. It would seem a self-evident proposition that in human behavior there can be success and failure, good policy and bad. By what measures are we to know whether performance of the individual, the group or the social aggregate is successful? Most of us. I believe, would agree that the stifling of central banking in the United States by the Jackson administration was unfortunate, a blunder in social policy. We can state this so confidently because we can look across to the corresponding evolution of central banking in England during the nineteenth century and speculate on the monetary disorders we might have avoided had we had even such an imperfect instrument of monetary control as existed in the Bank of England in those years. Ultimately, of course, we recognized our own confusion and adopted the hybrid control of the Federal Reserve System which, because it was inherently weak, gave way, in crisis, before the centralized control of the Treasury Department. It is not necessary to demonstrate that the monetary control which we now have is less effective than it might have been had our banking history been different. It is enough to point out the tremendous social waste involved in our policy blunder in the Jacksonian era. When certain contemporary historians point out these facts and the moral of the story, what criteria of social policy do they use? Historians themselves are alert to the dangers of rationalizing hindsight, a process which weighs each situation in terms of its actual outcome. But if we look further for standards of performance comparable in precision to those employed by the economist, it becomes evident that there is little uniformity in the historian's method. In the work of the historian it is difficult to discover standards of individual and social performance of clear and universal applicability.

In conclusion, I should like to make a few observations on the pragmatic usefulness of the work of the economist and the work of the historian. Most economists, as I have pointed out, are working at lower levels of generality and abstraction than are economic theorists. Working at these levels, they are specialists trying to impose meaning

on masses of apparently unrelated economic fact, and, if they are successful, they will suggest ways in which society and individuals can arrange their affairs to mitigate the greatest harshness of scarcity of material goods. This, I submit, is a tangible achievement.

We need not insist, with equal hardheadedness that the historian produce something tangibly useful to justify his existence. It might be enough that he satisfy his own intellectual pleasure, and that of the limited group on whom we depend for cultural leadership, by exploration of the past. Most historians are not content with this modest claim to social usefulness. Some insist, with Garrett Mattingly that "the use of history to society must be the help it affords in solving political problems." It is reported that, at the Moscow conference, Secretary of State George Marshall was accustomed to avoid the night life of the Soviet capital and closet himself with a commentary on the Congress of Vienna. That Secretary Marshall gained both pleasure and practical assistance from a study of the Congress of Vienna is probably true. How the historian is to predict the actions of Molotov and the Russian state by consulting previous data

⁷Quoted from a paper, "A Sample Discipline: The Teaching of History," delivered by Garrett Mattingly at the Princeton University Bi-Centennial Conference, February 20, 1947.

is much less clear. A mere consideration of historical experience does not offer proof of the operation of underlying law and therefore historical fact cannot of itself be said to be a guide to policy. Something more is needed. There must be established some logical connection between facts of the past and predicted events of the future. Certainly, historical induction, unaided by any framework for analytical judgment, is a poor basis for prophecy. It is at precisely this point that the method of history seems less well defined than that of economics.

Perhaps, to quote Mattingly again,

the important thing is not to become involved in arguments about whether history repeats itself, not to take refuge from the effort of intellectual analysis and comparison in the bromide that every historical situation is unique, but to try to learn to use the political experience available in history for exactly the same kind of limited tentative prediction of probabilities which is all we expect of the practical experience by which we run our daily lives.⁸

8From "A Sample Discipline: The Teaching of History."

The Detroit House of Correction, 1861-74

Harold M. Helfman

Prior to 1861, the judges of the various state courts designated the Michigan State Prison at Jackson as the institutional catchall for the sentencing of Michigan's feminine criminal population. Here were to be found the deprayed and the innocent, the wicked and the naive, the first offender and the hardened repeater. However, confinement of women prisoners in a penitentiary exclusively designed for male inmates posed, at the very outset, a complicated enigma of procedure and discipline.1 This was usually solved by merely leaving feminine offenders in the several county jails, there to remain in dingy, dull cells which suggested no more than spiritless depression. That the local lockup must have been a most degrading place of confinement becomes apparent from the scathing denunciations of the contemporary press. The lead article of the Detroit Free Press of August 7, 1859, refers to a supposedly well-administered Wayne County jail in such choice terms as "a den of infamy," "a charnelhouse of corruption," "a nest of vice, disease and misery," " a worse than pest-house."2

Citizens of Detroit, aroused to action by the several newspapers of that city, demanded a new municipal workhouse and house of correction for those of its population of more than 45,000 who were able-bodied, habitual vagrants, prostitutes, or thieves. Five years of intermittent bickering ended in August 1, 1861, with the opening of a women's wing in the new Detroit House of Correction, placed under the direction of Zebulon Reed Brockway, late of the Monroe County Penitentiary of Rochester, New York. Events were to demonstrate that the Detroit House of Correction as a whole would serve as an experimental station for the liberal actions of Superintendent

¹As early as 1841, barely two years after the opening of the Michigan State Prison at Jackson, Governor William Woodbridge had called the attention of the legislature to the problem of insufficient provisions for the confinement of "female convicts" and unsuccessfully had urged "further arrangements" for their detention. George N. Fuller, editor, Messages of the Governors of Michigan 1279 (Insuince 1285). igan, 1:378 (Lansing, 1925).

²Detroit Free Press, August 7, 1859.

Brockway, and that his reforms, designs, and methods would make the Detroit institution a penological byword, in fact, the most significant contemporary penal undertaking of the adult reformatory type in the country. Although penal administrators are lavish in their praise for Brockway as an industrial organizer, disciplinarian, and head of a self-supporting institution, hitherto overlooked has been his claim as organizer in Detroit of America's first reformatory program for women, well in advance of either the temporary experiment of 1870 in Greenfield, Massachusetts, or the permanent institution originated in Indianapolis, Indiana, in 1873, both of which are usually given the chronological forerank among feminine reformatories.3

The women's department of the Detroit House of Correction was. at the time of its opening, complete in internal housing arrangements and imposing in its external appearance. This annex, the right wing of the main prison building, contained eighty well-ventilated cells for women prisoners and provided landscaped yards for private exercising,4 free from the glances of sex-starved male convicts and aloof from the temptations of clandestine conversations. Thus the original system and arrangement of the building secured the complete moral and mental isolation of the feminine inmates. Institutional rules allowed a limited physical contact between the women offenders,5 thereby removing the tendency to mental breakdowns so prevalent under the solitary system of confinement, while at the same time preventing the promiscuous mingling of inmates which existed under the local jail system.

Establishment of a separate women's wing in the new Detroit House of Correction suggested to the state legislators the possibility that the burdensome problem of housing feminine delinquents could be lifted from the shoulders of the harrassed authorities of Michigan State Prison at Jackson.⁶ In 1861, therefore, the legislature decreed

⁸Donald R. Taft, Criminology, 497 (New York, 1945). ⁴Annual Report of the Officers of the Detroit House of Correction to the

⁻Annual Report of the Officers of the Detroit House of Correction to the Common Council of the City of Detroit for the year 1862, 5 (Detroit, 1863).

⁶Annual Report House of Correction 1862, 7.

⁶In 1855 a special report of the board of inspectors of the Michigan State Prison at Jackson had referred to the negligent conditions under which women prisoners were housed in that institution as a "by-word and reproach to the State." "Report of the Inspectors of the State Prison," Senate Documents, number 15, page 2 (Lansing, 1855). Warden William Hammond's really number 15, page 2 (Lansing, 1855). Warden William Hammond's reply could only bemoan the fact that the problem of housing feminine inmates was

that judges of the state would hereafter sentence all women, except those convicted of murder and treason, to imprisonment at Detroit,7 thereby placing the responsibility for reforming these dregs of folly squarely upon the board of managers of the House of Correction.

Brockway immediately responded to the legislative challenge and rallied the citizenry of Detroit to a new interest in the progress and welfare of the women inmates imprisoned in their municipal correctional institution. This communal spirit enabled him to introduce a new motive and aid to the reformation of his feminine charges. Backed by pledges of good faith given him by philanthropic Detroiters, Brockway promised all women prisoners that their wholehearted cooperation with his future program of moral and economic reforms would be rewarded with remunerative employment at the end of their term of sentence, if they so desired it.8 Removal of the stigma of "having done time" in a prison meant that released women inmates could secure for themselves a normal place in the community. No longer would society's cold shoulder await the discharged "jailbird."

The miracle worker from Rochester now turned to the formulation of a reformatory and correctional program which was to be second to none in the country. Brockway provided new spiritual and educational facilities as therapy designed to restore the fallen to normal psychical and moral health. By 1865, a resident chaplain conducted regular Sabbath services and held Bible classes in the women's social room. Books and religious tracts were distributed to all when the chaplain made periodic rounds from cell to cell, kindling fire and

[&]quot;a source of great vexation," since there were "ten of these unfortunate convicts confined in two small rooms, which were badly ventilated and no conveniences

confined in two small rooms, which were badly ventilated and no conveniences and no other care than what was bestowed by male keepers." Annual Report of the Inspectors of the State Prison, 1855, 46 (Lansing, 1855).

7"An Act to Establish the Detroit House of Correction and Authorize the Confinement of Convicted Persons Therein," Acts of the Legislature of the State of Michigan, Passed at the Regular and Extra Sessions of 1861, number 164, pages 266-67 (Lansing, 1861). It is interesting to note in this connection that the same statute allowed the confinement of young male offenders in the Detroit House of Correction instead of the prison at Jackson, under such long terms of contenge as would necessarily have been imposed for felonies under terms of sentence as would necessarily have been imposed for felonies under existing provisions. Brockway later declared in his memoirs that this Michigan enactment of 1861 was the first American legislation to discriminate, for the purpose of prison treatment, between offenders of sixteen to twenty-one years of age and older criminals. Zebulon R. Brockway, Fifty Years of Prison Service: An Autobiography, 68-69 (New York, 1912).

8Annual Report of the Officers of the Detroit House of Correction to the Common Council of the City of Detroit for the Year 1863, 8 (Detroit, 1864).

brimstone with his exhortations to deprayed offenders.9 A systematic program of education formally began in 1869, when Brockway employed Miss Emma Hall¹⁰ as a teacher in the female department. Regular school sessions were held two evenings a week, with two extra class periods scheduled to accommodate those who enrolled for special writing exercises. 11 The new reformatory curriculum included instruction in the rudiments of reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography, by which the authorities hoped to "prepare the soil in which ... aspirations for a better life [were to be] awakened."12 To encourage self-study and individual enterprise, Brockway adopted the procedure of allowing well-behaved prisoners the incentive of a light in their cells for one extra hour on those evenings during which no school sessions were held.¹³ These departures from the traditional random system of penal instruction had new value when Brockway invited guest speakers and public figures to deliver supplemental lectures of a moral or scientific context before the entire inmate population.14

Because of the short sentences under which most of the women were held, the average period of academic attendance was only seventyfive hours or the practical equivalent of three weeks of public school training. In fact, the entire amount of prison school instruction for those who remained a full calendar year was only 210 hours. 15 How-

⁹Annual Report of the Officers of the Detroit House of Correction to the Common Council of the City of Detroit for the Year 1865, 18-19 (Detroit,

¹⁰Miss Emma Hall was to have a brilliant administrative career as first superintendent of the State Public School at Coldwater (1874-75), head of the State School for the Deaf and Dumb at Flint (1875-81), first superintendent of the Girls Reform School at Adrian (1881-84), and matron of the Indian School at Albuquerque, New Mexico (1884-85). See Brockway, Autobiography, 409-15, for a eulogy of this remarkable woman whom Brockway calls

ography, 409-15, for a eulogy of this remarkable woman whom Brockway calls the "pioneer of women's reformatory work."

11 Annual Report of the Officers of the Detroit House of Correction to the Common Council of the City of Detroit for the Year 1869, 32 (Detroit, 1870).

12 Annual Report House of Correction 1869, 37-38, 39.

13 Annual Report House of Correction 1869, 36.

14 Thirty lectures in 1869 covered a variety of topics, for instance: "The Nobility of Work," "The Labor Question," "How to Do Business," "Money Influence," "Ancient Architecture," "Chemical Combinations of Bread," "History of the Alphabet," "The Ocean and its Inhabitants," "The Amazon and its Valley," "Heat," "Beauty," "Flowers," "An Evening with Charles Dickens," "The Emotions and the Will," and a course on psychological topics given by Ira Mayhew, at one time superintendent of public instruction in Michigan. Annual Report House of Correction 1869, 103.

15 Brockway, Autobiography, 102.

¹⁵Brockway, Autobiography, 102.

ever. Brockway maintained that the student progress in the women's prison school was two and three-eighths greater than that of the average Detroit public school pupil. 16 By 1870, only one year after the Detroit House of Correction entered upon an educational curriculum for its women inmates, Brockway could proudly declare that the program had "proved as successful as to lose the uncertainty of an experiment, and [had] become an established department of the system of administration adopted here."17

Brockway's designs to elevate women prisoners from their lives of sin went steadily forward. In November, 1864, since the House of Correction had shown a steady profit in its annual financial statements. 18 Detroit's reform superintendent introduced wages for overwork into the female wing.¹⁹ Belittling faultfinders may question whether this practice was initiated more to speed up chair manufacturing in the institution than out of solicitude for the women prisoners. But whatever may have been the considerations prompting this action, it seems evident that here was an incentive to make compulsory labor attractive and more in keeping with the actual situation to be found outside the prison walls. Sums ranging from \$1 to \$50 were paid directly to women inmates at the time of their release, except in those cases where the matron used the money to purchase extra clothing or other articles for the dischargees.20 Aggregate sums paid to the prisoners for overwork were comparatively large, totaling, for examle, \$376.20 in 1865 and \$923.76 in 1866. For many of these hardened women of the streets, previously friendless and neglected, these sums represented the first money ever earned through honest endeavors.

Between 1865 and 1869, Brockway initiated other progressive innovations in this unique feminine institution. It appears from the

¹⁶Brockway, Autobiography, 102. ¹⁷Annual Report of the Officers of the Detroit House of Correction to the Common Council of the City of Detroit for the Year 1870, 10 (Detroit, 1871).

¹⁸In the twelve years, 1861 to 1873, during which Brockway acted as superintendent, the Detroit House of Correction showed a cumulative profit in excess of \$120,000. In 1869, for example, a year in which the institution reported a profit of \$13,869.71, the Detroit reformatory and the Albany County Penitentiary of New York were the only two institutions in the country of the correctional type which could claim to be self-supporting, the remaining prisons being maintained at public expense.

19 Annual Report House of Correction 1865, 19.

²⁰ Annual Report of the Officers of the Detroit House of Correction to the Common Council of the City of Detroit for the Year 1866, 6 (Detroit, 1867).

annual reports that the governing body of the House of Correction viewed the women's wards as laboratories for reform, whose success or failure was noted, and then enacted in a more modified form for the male convicts. One of these experiments, the grading of inmates, was a recognized practice in the women's wing of the Detroit House of Correction by 1865, thereby marking the first application of a theory of classification to adult prisoners in an American penal or reformatory institution.²¹ In a letter of November 29, 1865, to the Rev. Enoch C. Wines, a prominent figure in contemporary penological circles, Brockway described his classification system:

The lowest grade are kept in separate cells when not at work; live upon the coarse prison diet, without tea or coffee, and non-intercourse is always enforced among them. They are, however, admitted to the privileges of the library, attend upon the daily and weekly devotions, and receive visits from the chaplain at the cell door.

The higher grade sleep and spend their business hours in a room together, are allowed to converse with each other, under the restraint imposed by the proximity of the matron, who can hear the conversation, though she is not present in the room. They are allowed some privileges of diet, a distinction is made in their clothing, and they are supplied with greater variety in reading matter. The chaplain, superintendent, and other friends, frequently visit their room after work hours, for the purpose of reading, or speaking, or studying the scripture with them, and usually engage in family devotions before leaving.²²

Brockway viewed this procedure of classification grading for feminine inmates "as an inducement to all to exercise that self-control while here, that is so essential to their reformation when they shall be released." No longer need a prison be a common cauldron into which society indiscriminately threw women of every stage of vice or of any age.

All previous reforms notwithstanding, the most noble experiment of them all was yet to be effected. On October 20, 1868, a House of Shelter was opened as an adjunct to the Detroit House of Correction.

²¹Grading prisoners was, by 1865, an accepted European practice, as witnessed by Sir Walter Crofton's famous "Irish system," wherein the penal authorities systematically graded all inmates and promoted those felons whom they designated as "adjusted" to a stage of treatment closer to eventual discharge.

²²As quoted by Enoch C. Wines and Theodore W. Dwight, Report of the Prisons and Reformatories of the United States and Canada, Made to the Legislature of New York, January, 1867, 341-42 (Albany, 1867).

²³Annual Report House of Correction 1865, 19.

This auxiliary, the only one of its kind attached to any American prison maintained by public support.24 afforded means to develop the moral resources of its feminine "family," to train members in fundamental habits of industry, to give the women at least a rudimentary education in the common branches of study, and to cultivate such basic refinements as would tend to restore its inmates to society more favorably endowed than formerly.25 Those who entered the cooperative home covenanted their united efforts to support themselves and to establish a training school for all who desired the benefits it afforded. This feeling of individual independence from life's earlier degradations was to make the House of Shelter the final and most indispensable adjunct to Brockway's program of reformation.

The plan for a shelter department assumed reality because funds for initial expenditures were already on hand in the surplus earnings of the House of Correction. The new project was constructed at a building cost of \$11,980,26 with a subsequent expenditure of \$612.96 made in 1869 for the erection of a fence around the structure "to protect the inmates from observation and insult."27 From October 20. 1868, to December 31, 1869, the Shelter received forty-four women. drawn from four different categories: those released from the House of Correction who came voluntarily at the expiration of their sentence and remained without coercion; women transferred from the House of Correction before the expiration of their sentence who were under moral obligation to remain in the Shelter until their term of imprisonment expired; any friendless woman, who, though guilty of no crime, wished to avail herself of the homelike atmosphere of the newlycreated department; and inmates committed to the House of Correction under the so-called three years law of April 3, 1869.

Passage of the "three years law" was the embodiment of Brockway's uphill and persistent struggle to enact a statute which would give the courts of the state power to imprison women convicted of sex offenses to the Detroit House of Shelter until such a time as they had demon-

 ²⁴Brockway, Autobiography, 106.
 ²⁵Annual Report of the Officers of the Detroit House of Correction to the Common Council of the City of Detroit for the Year 1867, 9 (Detroit, 1868).
 ²⁶Annual Report House of Correction 1865, 3. The building was larger than was needed for the wants of the Shelter since it had earlier been contemplated that one wing of the building would be offered to the state for an industrial home for girls.

²⁷Annual Report House of Correction 1869, 8.

strated positive signs of reformation. In no case, however, was the period allotted for moral correction to exceed that of three years.²⁸ Premising the release of an inmate upon her intraprison behavior meant, in effect, that whether the individual delinquent served a minimum or a maximum sentence would depend upon the evidence of her individual receptiveness to the reform program of the Shelter. This enactment of 1869 was America's initial effort in the direction of an indeterminate sentence, accepted today as an integral part of enlightened administrative procedure. It is unfortunate that in January, 1870, when the constitutionality of the law abolishing time sentences was first presented for judicial interpretation, the conservatism of the Michigan Supreme Court nullified the practical effects of the "three years law"29 and thereby robbed the state of a fore rank in the penal programs of the day.30

But in the ten months during which the indeterminate sentence law was still intact, the Shelter department offered real humanizing ministrations to those female unfortunates who needed them most. A contemporary description presented to the National Prison Congress meeting of 1873 hailed the Shelter as a deserving Christian refuge, elevating the low and saving the lost:

The house of shelter, established in connection with the house of correction, to which female prisoners from the latter are transferred for good conduct, is a commodious and well-furnished home, provided with all the comforts and conveniences of a well-to-do family. Here is a company of wayward girls taken from bad influences, forming a little society of their own, and by industry, education, and refining associations, fitting themselves for lives of respectability and usefulness. Each inmate is provided with an ordinary-sized bedroom, fitted with the furniture usually found in a room of this kind. They take their meals together at a table in the dining-hall, covered with a neat table cloth, and furnished with excellent tableware and napkins. Most of the day is devoted to work, mainly sewing and making linen coats and pantaloons. Singing, music on a parlor organ, evening school and reading, with a weekly evening gathering for con-

²⁸"An Act to Provide for the Imprisonment and Detention of Convicted Persons in the Detroit House of Correction," Acts of the Legislature of the State of Michigan, Passed at the Regular Session of 1869, volume 1, number 145, page 265 (Lansing, 1869).

29In the Matter of Eliza Weinrich, 20 Michigan 14.

⁸⁰In 1870, Brockway reintroduced another enactment for the indeterminate sentence, but the measure was defeated. The idea would receive a more complete expression in the organic law of the Elmira Reformatory, which Brockway drafted and saw accepted by the New York legislature in 1877.

versation and social entertainment, constitute the principal exercises. Culture of this kind, amid such surroundings, cannot fail to be productive of great good in preparing those who receive it for useful home life, and we cannot but regard the house of shelter as one of the best agencies for saving those likely to fall that it has been our province to find.31

Critics of Brockway's program objected that the artificial comforts of the House of Shelter tended to educate the erring inmates for an unreal kind of life, one that they could not possibly lead when discharged from the auxiliary. However, Brockway quickly pointed out that diligent manual labor, alternating between domestic tasks and the braiding of chair seats, was a cardinal feature of the Shelter. He hoped that a combination of this program of physical labor and the moral stimuli afforded by Sabbath prayer meetings, evening devotions, Thursday night socials, and Sunday school lessons might perform the miracle of directly modifying the baser instincts of his fallen charges.⁸² That the board of managers of the Shelter held fair prospects for the



THE DETROIT HOUSE OF SHELTER

reformation of fully 76 per cent of its dischargees³³ was testimony to the practical worth of Brockway's administrative program.

 ³¹Proceedings of the Annual Congress of the American Prison Association in
 1873, 414-15 (New York, 1874).
 ³²Annual Report House of Correction, 1869, 47.

³⁸Brockway, Autobiography, 414. Doubtful prospects as to the other 24 per cent were attributable to the fact that those released were either too weak to hold themselves voluntarily in contact with the influences of the Shelter or because of the absence of any desire for the improved conditions of a better life.

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The House of Shelter lasted for only a six-year period, from October, 1868, to late in 1874. Its closing was in no way a reflection upon the basic usefulness of the institution. For one thing, the judicial failure to uphold the "three years law" of 1869 had sharply reduced its inmate population. Moreover, a large increase in male commitments to the parent House of Correction, entirely natural in the steady growth of municipal and state populations during the 1860's and the 1870's, meant that the Shelter buildings would be sacrificed to the housing needs of men prisoners. Then, too, Brockway's successors, appointed after his untimely resignation in 1873, failed to appreciate the importance and practicability of reforming the friendless feminine victims of society.

During the years of its administrative existence, however, Zebulon Reed Brockway's enlightened program of educational and moral benefits, methods of individualized treatment and liberal discipline, and the homelike atmosphere of the House of Shelter, had demonstrated that institutional confinement could indeed mould characters in tune to the prevailing social pattern. In this sense, the practices followed at the Detroit House of Correction from 1861 to 1874 are clearly entitled to the designation of America's first reformatory program for women prison inmates. One cannot help but regret that these correctional policies chiefly depended upon the personal vigor, energy, and ability of one man and were to perish with his departure from office. This unfortunate fact has deprived the Detroit reformatory program for feminine inmates of the national recognition and the pre-eminence which it so richly deserves in the annals of American penal history.

The Lake Superior Copper Fever, 1841-47

Robert James Hybels
[Continued from the Issue of September, 1950]

Just as the season of 1845 saw the copper fever reach a high point, it saw also Douglass Houghton climb to the top in popularity in the Copper Country. As an inventor is associated with his machine, or a Congressman with a bill, from the beginning of the rush Douglass Houghton had been identified with the copper contagion. Though a scientist, his was not the reputation of a man with a new theory. Indeed, he had published observations which had conflicted with traditional theory and had earned him the name of "backwoods geologist"; but he had not propounded a substitute theory. For Houghton was no theorist. A talkative extrovert, he was a man of action, not a thinker. He favored utility; he had little taste for thought or knowledge for its own sake. For example, he avoided discussion of religious themes. What did man know of the Unknown? Any attempt to solve such abstract mysteries was fruitless and therefore useless. Houghton preferred to work with the tangible.²⁰¹

As opposed to a theoretical geologist, Houghton was a field one. No doubt, his practicality was a factor in his popularity, for he was popular in the sense that he was well known and well liked and in the sense that his work was appreciated by the masses. In the Copper Country particularly was he a celebrity. Whenever he landed at one of the tent settlements—Eagle River, Eagle Harbor, Copper Harbor, or Ontonagon—he was immediately hailed and surrounded by the characteristically noisy miners. His small, still boyish figure was easily recognizable among the burly frontier adventurers. He loved a good story, and so did they. And he was not too genteel for them. He dressed carelessly, talked fast, and was used to taking chances and living out-of-doors. And they respected him for knowing their business—copper-hunting on Lake Superior—better than anyone else. One of them remarked once that "the little, rough-looking Doctor carried

²⁰¹Hubbard, "Douglass Houghton," in the American Journal of Science and Arts, second series, 5:224; Bradish, Douglass Houghton, 69.

more true knowledge in his cranium 'than all the big heads put together,"202

More than once the intimate knowledge of the eccentricities of Lake Superior and its shores that Houghton had acquired—sometimes painfully-since his initial explorations under the tutelage of Henry Schoolcraft in 1831, had stood him in good stead. But it may be that his confidence in his ability as a lakesman was a factor in his death by drowning October 13, 1845,208 It is easy to understand how Houghton may have underestimated the fury of the impending storm which caused his death and overestimated both his own ability to cope with it, and the grace period he would have before it struck. At least two of his fondest friends agreed that by nature and training he was cautious, but constant success in defeating Lake Superior and the elements had jaded his instincts for physical caution. He was proud of his seamanship, and on the evening of October 13, he trusted, as he had done a hundred times before, to his own judgment and skill to reach port and thwart the storm.204

The only survey records lost with Houghton seem to have been a small book containing the data on one or two townships.²⁰⁵ Evervthing else was saved; yet, soon after his death, "through unaccountable negligence the vast collection of notes, sketches, maps, and manuscript, representing eight years of unremitting toil by Houghton and his assistants, were lost." As a result, the final report which might have established Houghton's professional reputation on a na-

²⁰²Hubbard, Memorials, 77-78; Bradish, Douglass Houghton, 80.
203See the "Story of the Drowning of Dr. Douglass Houghton and Sketch of Peter McFarland, the Last Survivor of the Expedition," in the Michigan Historical Collections, 22:662-66 (Lansing, 1894). This is a reprint from the Sault Ste. Marie News, January 30, 1892. In addition to an obituary of Peter McFarland, it includes the affidavit made by McFarland and Bodrie at Eagle River, October 14, 1845, the day after the drowning, a copy of which is also reprinted in Bradish, Douglass Houghton, 92-95. Bradish, a friend of the Houghton family, names the Detroit Free Press, October 28, 1845, as his source for the statement, and adds a few undocumented details on pages 64-65. for the statement, and adds a few undocumented details on pages 64-65. It is probable that Bradish's account, published in 1889, was the source of the article (with the exception of the McFarland obituary) in the Sault Ste.

²⁰⁴Bradish, Douglass Houghton, 36; Hubbard, "Douglass Houghton," in the

American Journal of Science and Arts, second series, 5:226.

205E. H. Thompson to Lucius Lyon, October 21, 1845, in Bradish, Douglass Houghton, 91; Bela Hubbard, in "Report of the Secretary of the Treasury Relative to the Character of the Mineral Regions in the Lake Superior Country," 20.

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tional basis was never published.206 The field notes for the 1845 season were assembled by Douglass Houghton's two assistants, William Burt and Bela Hubbard, who submitted the required reports to Lucius Lyon.²⁰⁷

A rumor started, soon after Houghton's drowning, that he had discovered gold that summer and the secret of its location had been lost with him. This development may have been a natural product of a tragedy in a mineral region and the frontier love of a tall tale and a tall hero; or it may well have contained a germ of truth.208

The death of Houghton had no appreciable effect upon the symptoms of the copper fever. In midsummer western newspapers had been remarking that the rush to the Lake Superior copper region seemed to be increasing, and that some people were "so sanguine as to insist that we can supply the world cheaper than England."209 The Cleveland Herald on October 6 declared that the existence of inexhaustible quantities of copper was no longer a matter for conjecture, it was a "fixed fact."210 Speculation went on unchecked during the summer of 1845. It was reported that a man from Pittsburgh sold his shares in a company for \$15,000 and that a few months later they were worth three times that. James Wilson of New Hampshire was said to have sold his holding for \$36,000, many times their original value.211 Philo Everett registered his iron mine location at Copper Harbor, where the "white tents on the island [Porter's] appeared like an army encampment,"212 and had not been home in Jackson more than two weeks before he received several applications for shares in his company from Wall Street brokers. "The copper fever rages here more than any other," he wrote his brother from Jackson after telling him of his discovery of a mountain of iron ore "as bright as a bar of iron just broken." The Lake Superior copper rush had now

²⁰⁶Allen, "Dr. Douglass Houghton," in the Michigan Historical Collections,

^{207&}quot;Report of the Secretary of the Treasury Relative to the Character of the Mineral Regions in the Lake Superior Country," 2-29.
208Bradish, Douglass Houghton, 107-8. Bradish reprints a newspaper interview with Samuel W. Hill made forty years later, in which Hill claims that the rumor was true.

²⁰⁰ Niles' Register, 68:341 (August 2, 1845). 210 Niles' Register, 69:125 (October 25, 1845). 211 Niles' Register, 69:9 (September 6, 1845). 212 Everett, "Recollections," in the Michigan Historical Collections, 11:165.

reached its height; but an embryo iron rush was on the threshold.²¹³

The Lake Superior Copper Company had sent Jackson to examine its mines again, and in his report at the close of 1845 he claimed a superiority for the mass copper over the ores.²¹⁴ The first sawmill. stamping mill, and crushing machinery were built by this company during the summer.215

By winter great numbers of the Indians had voluntarily left the Copper Country, and General Brady, on whom rested the responsibility for protecting the miners from the Indians, reported to Washington his opinion that "if half the reports of the quantity and richness of the ores there are true, in less than two years from the present time there will be more people employed in mining there than we have now enlisted in our Army."216

During the season of 1845, 889 permits were granted, 176 were returned located, and 36 leases were executed. In spite of the fact that issuance of permits had been suspended, 468 applications were received in four months. In August the mineral agent distributed a statistical questionnaire to the mine superintendents. From those that were returned he learned that besides the sawmill and crushing mill. there were in the Copper Country a total of at least thirty-six log dwelling houses, ten storehouses, one boat dock, 4,840 perches of road, and eleven shafts sunk. Over 250 men had been employed during the summer, but almost all of the employers refused to estimate the number of men they would have on their winter rolls. A total of 33,515 pounds of ore had been shipped to the seaboard. Yet, the federal government, by the end of October, had received not a cent of rent. And the expenses of running the agency and the permit-lease system between April, 1843, and September 30, 1845, had accumulated to almost \$20,000.217 The government's expenditures for the period were probably small in contrast to private spending. However,

²¹³Mrs. Philo M. Everett, "Memories of Early Marquette," in the Michigan History Magazine, 5:575.

²¹⁴Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress at the Commencement of the Thirty-first Congress, December 24,

<sup>1849, 387, 394.

216</sup> Jacob Houghton, Jr., The Mineral Region of Lake Superior, 26.

216 Fisher, "Fort Wilkins," in the Michigan History Magazine, 29:162.

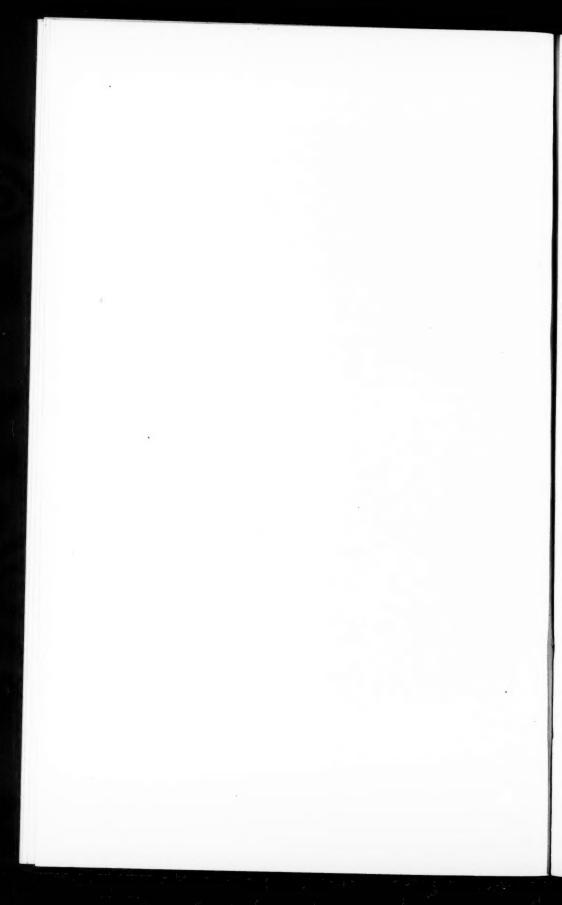
217 Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress at the Commencement of the First Session of the Twenty-ninth Congress, December 2, 1845, 411, 415-17.



CLIFF MINE LOCATION
From "Harper's New Monthly Magazine," March, 1853



VIEW OF EAGLE HARBOR From "Harper's New Monthly Magazine," March, 1853



figures on the expenditures of private investors are not available.

One of the larger factors in the cost of exploration and development of the mines was the transportation hurdle at the Sault. The mile-long portage around the St. Mary's Rapids was a toll bridge which offered Lake Superior access to the other lakes at a prohibitive price. The cheaper entry of a canal seemed to be the only long-term solution, but that canal awaited public financing and would not be built for ten more years. In the meantime, the copper fever had outgrown the meager shipping facilities on the Lake Superior end of the Sault funnel. The voyageur and his batteau or canoe were old fashioned and expensive. Therefore, to meet the demand, private interests took steps during the season of 1845 to alleviate the Superior

shipping shortage.

In the spring two small schooners, the Ocean and the Merchant, were hauled on rollers (the way houses are moved) around the St. Mary's Rapids. In addition, materials for a larger schooner to be called the Napoleon were carted to the head of the falls to be assembled there. Sometime in the middle of the summer a 280 ton steamer called the Independence arrived from Chicago and began the portaging process. A portage which ordinarily took smaller boats two or three weeks, took the steamer seven weeks. She was launched late in the fall and was the first steamer on Lake Superior. Despite the onset of the stormy period of navigation, her captain was determined to make at least one trip before winter. Accordingly the Independence set out with a partially full passenger list and a mixed cargo, stopped first at Copper Harbor, then at Eagle Harbor, and finally at Eagle River, the destination of most of the cargo. Before the last fifty kegs of blasting powder could be unloaded, however, a sudden storm made the crew weigh anchor. In the gale that followed, the steamer rolled so mightily that the stoves broke loose, scattering fire all about. The crew and the passengers were kept in a constant state of anxiety.

After the storm had spent itself, and the powder had been landed, the first steamer on Lake Superior fled to the Sault,²¹⁸ where it was

²¹⁸Lewis Marvill [Manville?], "First Trip by Steam to Lake Superior," in the Michigan Historical Collections, 4:67-69 (Lansing, 1906); A Brief Account of the Lake Superior Copper Company, 19. See E. H. Day, "Sketches of the Northwest," in the Michigan Historical Collections, 14:205-7 (Lansing, 1890).

put up for the winter along with most of the other lake craft. Most of the sailors of these hibernating vessels took the last boat down to Detroit for a winter in civilization.

Whereas at the beginning of the copper hunting season of 1845 there had been only the overworked Algonauin to handle the rush, at the season's end there were at least eleven vessels of assorted sizes plying the waters of Lake Superior. And as navigation closed, a second steamer, the *Julia Palmer*—a sidewheeler, not a propellor like the Independence-lay at the foot of the rapids, waiting to be hauled over the portage. Her top speed was ten miles per hour, her capacity three hundred passengers, and her weight with sails 280 tons. The Iulia Palmer would make a considerable contribution to copperhunting facilities for 1846. On her main deck was a ladies' cabin, and on the upper deck a dining cabin with a tier of staterooms fore and aft.219

One of the stipulations to which a permit holder agreed was to fix the permit to a specific location within a year. Another was to "leave a person in charge so as to point out the selection to other persons seeking to make selections."220 To comply with this requirement, organized companies established the practice of hiring a claim squatter to look after their interest until such a time as they were ready to begin mining. Often far into the wilderness, back from the lake and away from the rivers, the claim squatter built his rude cabin of logs covered with birch or cedar bark. In one corner there was a bedstead made of poles and stakes driven into the dirt floor, with moss for a mattress. A circle of rocks in the middle of the room provided the fireplace, and a hole in the roof performed the function of a chimney. In the ashes there might well be a big iron pot, always filled with "bean-porridge hot, nine days old." The hut's inhabitant had nothing to do but keep alive; his duties were those of a living sign post.221

²¹⁹St. John, A True Description of the Lake Superior Country, 108-9; Joseph A. Ten Broeck, "Old Keweenaw," in the Michigan Historical Collections, 30:146 (Lansing, 1906).

²²⁰"Report from the Secretary of War in Compliance with a Resolution of the Senate of January 6, 1846, Relative to the Mineral Regions of Lake Superior,"

in Senate Documents, volume 4, number 160, page 30 (29 Congress, 1 session) (Washington, D.C., 1846).

²²¹John H. Forster, "Some Incidents of Pioneer Life in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan," in the Michigan Historical Collections, 17:336-37 (Lansing, 1892).

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The optimistic faith of the nation in copper stocks remained unchallenged during the first part of 1846. "Private" letters and "confidential" reports from mining superintendents continued to be made public. In one issue of a national newsmagazine were to be read a superintendent's report to his company's treasurer that "we have here fallen in with the richest silver mine perhaps in the world; and in copper never exceeded"; and a portion of another man's correspondence in which he gave a negative appraisal on the one hand to the effect that none of the diggings of his or any other company looked discouraging, and on the other hand described lumps of silver "bigger than your thumb."222 It is evident that speculative interest in silver was vet undiminished. But the facts about the Copper Country were still hard to come by; the Boston Post complained that information was being hoarded. Men "go there, explore, become silent and supposedly appropriate the best," it observed.223

The demand for information was soon met. During the winter of 1845-46 at least two handbooks, or guides, written to meet the needs both of the prospective miner-explorer and the investor, were in the process of preparation. Jacob Houghton, Jr. and T. W. Bristol published in the spring a compilation called Reports on the Mineral Region of Lake Superior, 224 in which they provided the reader with: the United States survey reports for 1845, an extract from Douglass Houghton's famous report of February, 1841, a glossary of mineralogical terms, a table of coasting distances, descriptions of the "working" and the "organized only" companies, a list of permit-holders, and maps of the Copper Country and of Lake Superior. In A True Description of the Lake Superior Country, 225 John R. St. John made public the information he had collected from government reports, government officials, and private individuals, and a personal tour of the Copper Country the previous summer. Declaring that he had no ax to grind, but merely wanted to see his country become economically independent by developing its own resources, St. John aimed his book primarily at persons with money to invest. The development of the Copper Country awaited the capitalist, who in

²²²Niles' Register, 70:2 (March 7, 1846).

²²³Quoted by Taylor, "Reservation and Leasing of the Mines of the Public Domain," 285.
224Buffalo, 1846.

²²⁵New York, 1846.

turn was waiting for correct information. And it was St. John's claim that his book would enable the capitalist "to determine correctly between propositions now or hereafter made for investment, which are real, or which are 'kiting.' "226

John St. John seems to have been a scientifically learned man. He was probably an "expert" for that period; he appears to have been well versed both in the technical and the business end of mining. But his most influential trait was an unqualified faith in the immense potentialities of his country.

A few years will, as in lead and iron they have, show our capacity to supply the world with copper, not less imagined at present, than it was that we would now do it with lead. . . . Look now at the mighty result. We send it [lead] to China, an above it is piled our cotton cloths and wooden clocks, and who can say that copper will not follow?²²⁷

This subject of copper, is no longer to be viewed as belonging peculiarly to "Adventurers." Its importance and prospective results to the nation, like other great resources of our country, demands [sic] and will receive the attention of the capitalist and statesman. We are now paying \$474,560 a year for copper which we may produce ourselves; add this to the trade we may have from successful competition in \$6,000,000 export of those who supply us, gives a business in commerce of millions-Compare this with our export of bread-stuffs-Let the capitalist cypher upon it-Let the merchant think of the balance of exchange.228

St. John did not talk solely to the investor. Aware that the Copper Country's development required men in addition to money, he discussed labor opportunities:

There is no doubt Mechanics of many kinds will next season find there, the employments of a new country in the contemplated works. Wages this winter [1845-46] are-for best miners, \$30 per month and foundsecond rate and laborers, \$18-Blacksmiths, \$40. "Tributors" can always obtain veins or sections to work, for a liberal per centage. 229

The Copper Country was under the immediate management of the Ordnance Bureau, which had charge of the leasing of both lead and copper lands in the public domain. In the middle of January, 1846, the chief of ordnance reported to the House of Representatives that since 1843 leasing the copper lands had cost \$22,416, but no rents

 ²²⁶St. John, A True Description of the Lake Superior Country, 3-5.
 ²²⁷St. John, A True Description of the Lake Superior Country, 5.
 ²²⁸St. John, A True Description of the Lake Superior Country, 94.
 ²²⁹St. John, A True Description of the Lake Superior Country, 110.

had been received. The mines "have not yet been brought to such maturity that the payment of the rent has vet been urged upon them." he said.230

Secretary of War William Marcy had sent two agents to the Copper Country the previous August to find out how the leasing system worked in practice. They had stayed until the middle of October ("a period quite as late as we could with safety remain"), then in February they made a report to Secretary Marcy which later that month he sent to the Senate at its request. The commissioners had been unable to find any lead in the district and were of the opinion that the leasing system not only called "loudly for a change" but was illegal. The system ought to be abandoned, for the law permitted the government to reserve only lead lands. Outright sale would be the American way, the investigators argued. And because each man made his own survey, many disputes had ensued; the land ought to be surveyed.²³¹ Secretary Marcy informed the Senate that there had not been a public survey until Douglass Houghton started one just before his death. "It is now clearly three years since the copper region of Lake Superior was opened," he said. "Considerable sums have been expended, but no return of rent has yet been received."232

The House Committee on Public Lands reported on May 4, 1846, the results of its investigation of the leasing system. The Ordnance Bureau had recounted the cost and presented the committee with new figures as of April 7. The new totals were administrative costs of \$32,805 against a rental return of \$192. Prophesying chaos and further public loss if the system were continued, the committee charged leasing with favoring monopolies and creating joint stock companies. It recommended the sale of the lands.²³³

On May 6 all further leasing was suspended. By that date fiftyeight tracts of three miles square, and 317 tracts of one mile square,

^{230&}quot;Letter from the Secretary of War Transmitting a Statement Showing the Number of Leases Now on the Mineral Lands of the United States," in Executive Documents, volume 4, number 69, page 2 (29 Congress, 1 session)

⁽Washington, D.C., 1846).

231"Report from the Secretary of War Relative to the Mineral Regions of Lake Superior," 20-21, 24.

232"Report from the Secretary of War Relative to the Mineral Regions of User Superior, 20-21, 24.

Lake Superior," 3, 6.

233"Sale of Mineral Lands," in House of Representatives Committee Reports, volume 3, number 591, pages 3-5, 45 (29 Congress, 1 session) ([Washington, D.C.,] n.d.).

had been leased. The boom activity of the exploring season of 1845 was reflected in the fact that 327 of these leases had been executed since the close of that season.234

The season began with a note of sadness. Douglass Houghton's body-half covered with sand-was found not far from the scene of the disaster. Jacob Houghton took the body to Detroit and buried it in Elmwood Cemetery. 235

Early in April, John H. Forster, a former government surveyor, was in Detroit seeking transportation to the Copper Country-as were many others. But navigation had not yet opened. Detroit was now a city of perhaps ten thousand persons, with certain urban conveniences such as clay streets. Yet it retained much of its old French flavor; the French language was to be heard upon its new clay streets. The Michigan legislature was in session, but the absorbing topic of conversation everywhere seemed to be "copper"; everyone wanted to go copper-hunting.236

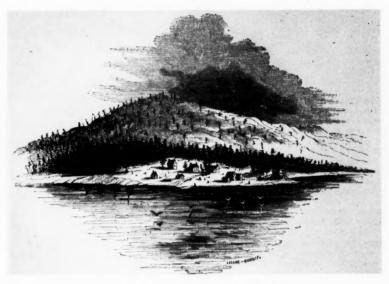
At the close of April, the ice retreated, and Forster and about two hundred other adventurers-Yankees, Southerners, Canadian-French, Cornish, and half-breed Indians-went aboard the new steamer Detroit with much rough hilarity and drinking. When they arrived at the Sault, they filled the inns and overflowed into the fields with their tents and campfires. St. Mary's proved to be a lively place, with Indians and half-breeds, both male and female, lounging about, "leading not very reputable lives." These loungers made money for whiskey by scooping up whitefish in their nets and selling them to the copper-hunters. Anchored at the foot of the falls was the steamboat, Iulia Palmer, waiting to be portaged. After much delay Forster's party was able to obtain passage in the hold of a schooner. Although it was May, it was still cold, and the men wrapped themselves in overcoats and paced the deck vigorously, and at nightfall they spread their blankets on a tier of barrels.237

Congress at the Commencement of the Second Session of the Twenty-ninth Congress, December 8, 1846," in Senate Documents, volume 1, number 1, pages 154-55 (29 Congress, 2 session) (Washington, D.C., 1846).

235Bradish, Donglass Houghton, 95-96; Swineford, History, 19.

236Forster, "Early Settlement of the Copper Regions," in the Michigan Historical Collections, 7:184.

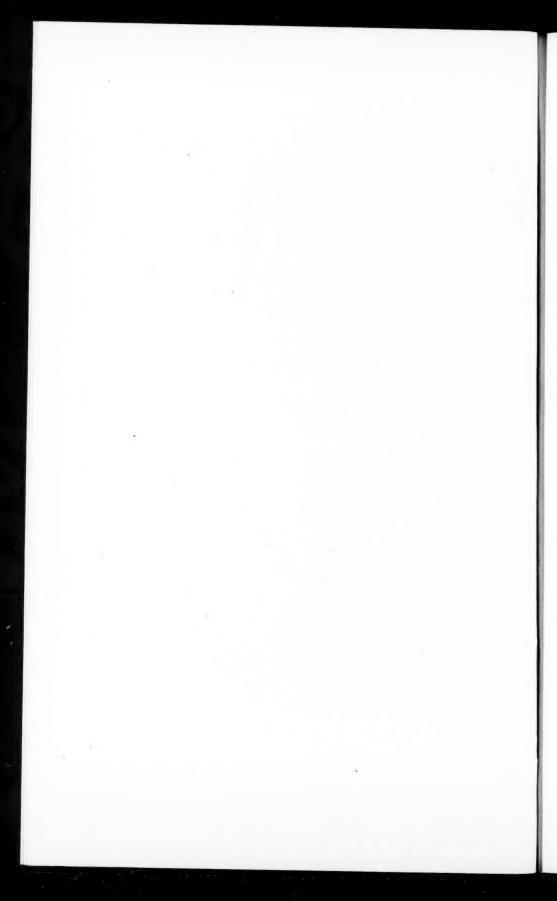
237Forster, "Early Settlement of the Copper Regions," in the Michigan Historical Collections, 7:185-86. 234"Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of



VIEW OF COPPER HARBOR From "Harper's New Monthly Magazine," March, 1853



INTERIOR OF A COPPER MINE
From "Harper's New Monthly Magazine," March, 1853



At Presque Isle their ship unloaded some of its cargo of beef cattle. In the absence of a dock, the cattle were pushed overboard. and they swam ashore through the chilly water. Seven days after leaving the Sault, the schooner anchored at Copper Harbor, the booming headquarters of the Copper Country. The harbor was full with the sails of canoes and mackinaw boats. The tenfold increase of the year before in the number of schooners on Lake Superior had made it possible to locate a supply depot closer to the site of operations than far away St. Mary's or even peripheral La Pointe. Copper Harbor was fast becoming the main assembly point and source of supplies. "Here outfits were made and boatmen and packers enlisted." The sutler's store at Fort Wilkins sold the miners clothing. tools, and provisions, 238

Perhaps several thousand men were summer guests (of varying duration) of Copper Harbor that season. As in the year before, they were a heterogeneous crowd: politicians, scientists, surveyors, speculators, and laborers; a uniform of slouch hats, flannel shirts, and moccasins prevailed. The birch woods in the vicinity of the fort became a lively town of white tents where the only social amusements seemed to be card playing and fighting. To observe that there was no Sunday west of the Sault became commonplace.239 Though a large part of its population was transient, Copper Harbor was developing nevertheless the skeleton of a permanent settlement. A second inn known as the "Brockway House" had been built, 240 and on July 11 the first issue of a newspaper calling itself the Lake Superior Mining Journal was published.241

The click of the hammer and drill and the explosion of powder charges were to be heard all over the point that summer. Another busy center of exploration was the Ontonagon River.

On the right bank, near the mouth, two or three acres of land have been cleared. Two buildings are in this clearing, the Government Agency and Jim Paul's cabin. . . . This clearing, as at Copper Harbor, is covered with the tents of the explorer, and the river is full of his boats. He came here

²³⁸Forster, "Early Settlement of the Copper Regions," in the Michigan

Historical Collections, 7:186.

239 Forster, "Early Settlement of the Copper Regions," in the Michigan

Historical Collections, 7:186-87.

240 Forster, "Early Settlement of the Copper Regions," in the Michigan Historical Collections, 7:186.

241 Taylor, "Reservation and Leasing of the Mines of the Public Domain," 290.

to rest, to replenish stores, etc. The crews, a motley crowd, old *voyageurs*, Frenchmen, half-breed Indians, take this occasion to indulge in drinking, carousing, fighting, and all manner of frontier excesses. At times the scene is like an arena of infuriated wild beasts.²⁴²

Shrewd Jim Paul, who had come to the Ontonagon three years before to obtain possession of the celebrated Boulder and after its removal had stayed behind to hunt copper and grow vegetables, was now proprietor of Ontonagon's sole tavern. His squatty, low-roofed cabin was only eight feet by ten, with a door with no windows, but the whiskey and shade within satisfied his customers.

Ontonagon is the rallying point on the west for copper hunters. Sunday is the day when the crowds, pouring in from the woods, there most do congregate. A wild, nomad set truly! Whiskey is then fearfully punished and punishes in return. Bar fights are common. The little clearing swarms with people. The white tents gleam up and down on the banks. Gambling is the amusement of those who do not fight. . . . Mr. Paull [sic] . . . is equal to the occasion. 248

The summer of 1846 saw a beginning made in the organization of local government. Elections were held in early August; however, "from some failure to meet the requirements of law, the elections were rendered null and void, and the country was left again, as it had been, literally without law." ²⁴⁴

The copper-hunting season on Lake Superior was also the tourist season. Reports of the lake's cool summers and scenic sights had often been included incidentally in reports on the copper and silver deposits. Even at this early date the ennui of city life was causing concern,²⁴⁵ and America had already developed a small leisure class which could afford summer vacations. To this class John St. John in his book had represented the Copper Country as a health resort and the brackish waters of Lake Fanny Hooe as a tonic.²⁴⁶

²⁴²Forster, "Early Settlement of the Copper Regions," in the Michigan Historical Collections, 7:188-89.

²⁴³Swineford, History, 47. Without benefit of quotation marks, Swineford has incorporated into his book selections from several authors, including John H. Forster. A comparison of this portion with Forster's "Early Settlement of the Copper Region," in the Michigan Historical Collections, 7:188-89, reveals an identity of authorship. An allusion to his journal on page 189 of the latter supports credence in Forster's details.

²⁴⁴Pitezel, Lights and Shades, 119. ²⁴⁵Pettit, "Remarks Respecting the Copper District of Lake Superior," in the

Journal of the Franklin Institute, 43:339.

246St. John, A True Description of the Lake Superior Country, 9. According to George N. Sanders, an assistant mineral agent, many of the inland lakes were

... I knew one gentleman [St. John said] who had been south; had been to Havannah without any benefit; one season on Lake Superior restored him. . . . I don't know why it should not relieve consumptives as well as others. . . . I am assured there will be prepared early next spring. accommodations for travellers and sojourners, at all the places desirable to stop at.247

St. John recommended to the pleasure-seeking tourist a canoe trip through Lake Superior and up the Brule and down the St. Croix to the Mississippi where steamboat passage to New Orleans could be obtained.

This route from Lake Superior to the Mississippi, has already been traversed by many ladies with their husbands. . . . There is one party of ladies and gentlemen organized, I learn, for a trip on this route next season, from Hartford, and no doubt many others will be met there. . . . 248

During the summer of 1846 at least one tourist traveled this route in the opposite direction. He was Charles Lanman, a writer in search of material, who decided to tag along with a large party of fifty Indians and vovageurs under the command of Allen Morrison. The party was on its way up to Lake Superior to attend the annual payment to the Indians. There were ten canoes in the fleet. Lanman sat with Morrison in the largest one and seldom put a hand to a paddle; instead he read, and sketched, and wrote.²⁴⁹

Lanman spent only a short time in the Copper Country, but, being a discerning and disinterested observer, he saw much. The following year he published a description of the whole canoe trip, including a chapter on the copper fever which he began with a declaration that he was not going to write the sort of "purchased puff" with which the public had heretofore been baited. "I am the owner of a few shares of copper stock, but exceedingly anxious to dispose of my interest," he said.250 And he continued:

. . . notwithstanding all the fuss that has been, and is still made, about the mining operations here, a smelting furnace has not yet been erected,

plagued with a small, hard, black insect that the Indians called the "little beaver."
"They move in swarms with much rapidity on the water," reported Sanders.
One had to be cautious when drinking from these lakes because "once introduced One had to be cautious when drinking from these takes because once introduced into the stomach, they industrially work their way in any direction, causing great pain and almost certain death." "Report of John Stockton," 9.

247St. John, A True Description of the Lake Superior Country, 9.

248St. John, A True Description of the Lake Superior Country, 107-8.

249Lanman, A Summer in the Wilderness, 141, 149.

250Lanman, A Summer in the Wilderness, 152.

and only three companies, up to the present time, have made any shipments of ore

... [Point Keweenaw is] the centre of attraction to those who are worshipping the copper Mammon of the age.... As to the great majority of the mining companies ..., they will undoubtedly sink a good deal more money than they can possibly make; and for the reason, that they are not possessed of sufficient capital to carry on the mining business properly, and are managed by inexperienced and visionary men—a goodly number of whom have failed in every business in which they have ever figured, and who are generally adventurers, determined to live by speculation instead of honest labor. The two principal log cabin cities of Point Keweenaw are Copper Harbor and Eagle River. The former is quite a good harbor, and supports a vacated garrison, a newspaper, a very good boardinghouse, a saw-mill, and a store, where drinking is the principal business transacted. The number of resident inhabitants in the two towns I was unable to learn, but the sum total I suppose would amount to fifty souls.

Although perhaps five hundred miners and clerks may be engaged on the whole Point, while about as many more, during the summer, are hanging about the general stopping places on the shore, or the working places in the interior. This brotherhood is principally composed of upstart geologists, explorers, and location speculators. . . .

. . . The science of geology [is] patronized in the mineral region. Not only does the nabob stockholder write pamphlets about the mines of the *Ural* mountains, and other *neighboring* regions, but even the broken down New-York merchant, who now sells whiskey to the poor miner, strokes his huge whiskers and descants upon the black oxyd, the native ore, and the peculiar formation of every hillside in the country. Without exception, I believe, all the men, women and children residing in the copper cities, have been crystalized into finished geologists, . . . they are wholly absorbed in sheeting their minds and hearts with the bright red copper, and are all loudly eloquent on their favorite theme.

... You stand upon a commanding hill-top, and while lost in the enjoyment of a fine landscape, a Copper Harbor "bear" or "bull," recently from Wall-street, will slap you on the shoulder and startle the surrounding air with the following yell: "That whole region, sir, is conglomerate, and exceedingly rich in copper and silver." You ask your landlady for a drop of milk to flavor your coffee, and she will tell you "that her husband has exchanged the old red cow for a conglomerate location somewhere in the interior. . . ." You happen to see a little girl arranging some rocky specimens in her baby-house, and on your asking her name, she will probably answer—"Conglomerate the man! my name, sir, is Jane." 251

Charles Lanman's conclusions were that the region abounded in valuable minerals, but three-quarters of the persons now in the busi-

²⁵¹Lanman, A Summer in the Wilderness, 153-56.

ness of exploiting it were "dishonest speculators and inexperienced adventurers." The Copper Country needed more time, new blood, and above all a "new order of things,"252

A "new order of things" was in the making. The directive in May. 1846, invalidating leases and the instructions of the previous July to stop issuing permits had amounted to a negation of an established policy. A new relationship between the central government and the mineral lands of the public domain was demanded. Meanwhile, in the interim between the renunciation of the old and the establishment of the new policy, copper-hunting and copper speculation wore a haunted look of insecurity.

In the Copper Country an estrangement developed between the government agents and miners.²⁵³ And copper interests elsewhere began agitating for the withdrawal of public control of copper exploitation by an outright sale of the mineral lands. Citizens of Detroit and Chicago memorialized Congress to protect the "pioneer" in his pre-emption rights.²⁵⁴ The Michigan state legislature was determined and noisy. A bill for the sale of the copper lands with recognition of pre-emption rights was introduced in Congress. The two Democratic Senators from Michigan, William Woodbridge and Lewis Cass, found mostly Whig support, particularly in the representative of Boston financiers, Daniel Webster. 255 President James Polk's adherents in the House killed the bill. The disappointment of at least one northern Whig newspaper was of a sectional breadth. "It seems impossible," exclaimed the Philadelphia American, "for industry and enterprise at the north to escape, by any prudence, the heavy hand of southern oppression."256

The leasing system was universally condemned. No one seemed mindful of its conservative aspects.²⁵⁷ The system had always been a

²⁵²Lanman, A Summer in the Wilderness, 154-55. ²⁵³"Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress at the Commencement of the Second Session of the Twenty-ninth

Congress at the Commencement of the Second Session of the Twenty-ninth Congress, December 8, 1846," 157.

254"Memorial of Citizens of Chicago, Illinois, Praying a Right of Pre-emption to the Permittees and Leasees of the Mineral Lands of Lake Superior, Should It Be Determined to Sell the Same," in Senate Documents, volume 8, number 418, pages 1-2 (29 Congress, 1 session) (Washington, D.C., 1846).

255Taylor, "Reservation and Leasing of the Mines of the Public Domain," 294-96; Jacob Houghton, Jr., The Mineral Region of Lake Superior, 29.

256Niles' Register, 71:4 (September 5, 1846).

257Taylor, "Reservation and Leasing of the Mines of the Public Domain," 297.

source of irritation to business. Before the copper rush, President John Tyler had recommended to Congress that the government step out of its unwise position as landlord of the mineral lands and sell them.²⁵⁸ From the beginning most speculators seem to have assumed that the leasing system was only a temporary measure to be followed in due course by pre-emption.²⁵⁹

The government's reservation and leasing of the copper lands had been made vulnerable by the failure of the War Department to ask Congress for adequate legislation. An act of 1807 had provided authority for the reservation and leasing of saline and lead fields. The War Department had extended the system to the copper lands in 1843 under the impression that lead was always present with copper and therefore the act of 1807 was adequate. Prior to 1845, neither the Galena nor the St. Croix districts had produced enough copper to interest anyone in challenging the government's rights. The Lake Superior district was the first one to do so, and the subsequent breakdown of the leasing system gave speculators their chance to throw off all public control. The fact that the leasing system had also had an embarrassing record in the lead region did not help the government's position.260

"Copper stocks which were much sought after at high rates, a few months since, have declined," said the Boston Courier at the end of the summer of 1846. Stock in the three companies most advanced in operations had fallen hundreds of dollars. Somewhat remorsefully the Boston newspaper described the mines as "subterranean lotteries" and "playthings."261

The decline in copper stocks was probably a reflection of the unsettled policy of the government, but the market may also have responded to a widespread reaction against copper mining per se. The

²⁵⁸Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress at the Commencement of the Third Session of the Twenty-seventh Congress, 9 (27 Congress, 3 session, Senate Documents, volume 1, number 1) (Washington, D.C., 1842).

²⁵⁹Pettit, "Remarks Respecting the Copper District of Lake Superior," in the Laurence of the Escaphia Laurence of the Esc

Journal of the Franklin Institute, 43:338.

260Taylor, "Reservation and Leasing of the Mines of the Public Domain,"
249, 251, 255, 258.

²⁶¹Niles' Register, 71:4 (September 5, 1846). Stock of the Lake Superior Copper Company fell from \$500 to \$65, of the Pittsburgh Company from \$210 to \$55, of the Copper Falls Company from \$60 to \$20.

copper fever appears to have reached its climax in the middle of 1846. The excitement had mounted slowly during 1843 and 1844, and then in 1845 it had burst all reasonable bounds, verging on a frenzy. The following year the fever had held. There appeared no letup in either the numbers or activity of the copper-hunters and speculators. Confident that pre-emption rights would be honored, and thus investments made under an illegal leasing system would be protected, men had carried out pre-established plans.²⁶² However, this confidence was upset at the end of the summer season when the transferral from public to private ownership was not approved by the House. The fever broke and public temperature dropped to normal. On the surface it appears as if the copper fever was cured by the lack of a positive policy on the part of the government; yet there is evidence that speculating enthusiasm may have begun waning long before.263

The accessibility of the Copper Country's mineral wealth had been misrepresented to the public. Realization of the facts was probably dawning during the season of 1846, as shipments of ore failed to materialize while at the same time stockholders continued to be milked by assessments.

Shareholders, who had raised their \$10,000 to \$50,000 in fond expectation of early returns, found in time that every cent, and generally more, had been expended in constructing a rude pier whereon to land their supplies, cutting a road thence to their location, building a few rude shanties, drawing up their tools, powder, edibles, &c., and beginning to scratch the earth; another, and still another assessment being required,-not to secure returns, but to sink a shaft on the vein far enough to determine that they had any ore or metal to mine. By this time . . . they were ready to sell out for a song, or abandon the enterprise in despair and disgust.264

The popular enthusiasm of the copper fever had been based on fancy; when fancy was disproved, the enthusiasm curdled.

²⁶²The number of copper mining companies seems to have nearly doubled during the first half of 1846. A revision by Jacob Houghton, Jr., of the earlier compilation in which he had collaborated with T. W. Bristol was published in the fall; whereas the initial edition by Houghton and Bristol, published in the spring of 1846, had listed fifty-seven companies, the later edition by Houghton alone listed 104.

 ²⁶³See Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress at the Commencement of the Thirty-first Congress, December 24, 1849, 387; and Pitezel, Lights and Shades, 156-57.
 ²⁶⁴Greeley, Recollections, 245.

By the end of 1846 the American people had undergone their first mining rush. On December 8 President Polk recommended to Congress the sale of the copper lands.²⁶⁵ On March 1, 1847, a bill entitled, "An act to establish a land office in the northern part of Michigan, and to provide for the sale of mineral lands in the state of Michigan," was passed.²⁶⁶ The opening of navigation in the spring of 1847 saw reduced numbers of copper-hunters take passage for the Copper Country; there was not the usual scramble for transportation at Detroit or at the Sault or at Copper Harbor. Copper-hunting had lost its glamour with the failure of anyone to get rich, and the sale of the lands had made possible a transition from adventuresome exploration by many to the dull process of mining by a few. The risk remained but was lacking in excitement. Competition in exploration makes a mining rush. And now the copper fever was over. The Copper Country settled down to serious work.²⁶⁷

However, the cynicism of the American people lasted only a very short time. In but a few months they were engaging in another mining rush as hotly as ever. For it was the future of the Lake Superior copper fever to be superseded by the California gold fever.

²⁶⁵"Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress at the Commencement of the Second Session of the Twenty-ninth Congress, December 8, 1846," 154-55.

Congress, December 8, 1846," 154-55.

266Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress at the Commencement of the Thirty-first Congress, December 24, 1849, 371.

²⁶⁷Forster, "Early Settlement of the Copper Regions," in the Michigan Historical Collections, 7:192-93; Whittlesey, "Ancient Mining on the Shores of Lake Superior," in Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, 13:4.

[Concluded]

Ascent At Adrian, 1858

F Clever Bald

THE SUMMER OF 1858 IN ADRIAN, the seat of Lenawee County, was hot and humid. Business was dull, for the panic of 1857 had struck the whole country a deadening blow, and there was yet no sign of improvement. Charles M. Cleveland, a young clerk in his father's general store, recorded in his diary both the high temperatures and the lack of trade.1 Everyone, he wrote, was observing the utmost economy, some even denying themselves the necessities of life.

Charles had hope for the future, however. He had visions of becoming a successful business man, and, in order to prepare himself for the role, he began to study bookkeeping in his spare time at the store. Paying tuition to attend the local business college, he decided, was beyond his means for the present.

He was happy, too, for he and his bride Amanda found a small house which was within their means. They paid the owner \$5 a month rent and repapered the walls themselves. There they began housekeeping in perfect contentment in the quiet little city.

Excitement, however, was not far away. In his diary Charles entered some mention of the Atlantic cable which was being laid. and he expressed the opinion that it would never work. Early on Tuesday, August 17, he was surprised to hear the news that Queen Victoria's message to President James Buchanan had been successfully transmitted.2

Adrian went wild. Cannon were fired, and church bells were rung throughout the day, and in the evening there was an illumination. Cleveland reported that crowds thronged the streets and that it was the "greatest time Adrian ever saw." The next day the people could talk about nothing but the celebration, "an event which will never be forgotten by any who participated in it." Later he mentioned similar jubilation in numerous other cities.

¹Cleveland's diary for 1858 and others for the years 1854 to 1893 are in the Michigan Historical Collections, University of Michigan.

²The first attempt to lay a cable in 1857 had failed. The cable broke down on September 4, and it was not permanently successful until 1866.

Soon the utility of the miracle became apparent when on August 25 the evening papers carried London stories with the same date line. The annihilation of distance made a deep impression on Cleveland. "Can't hardly realize this. Seems incredible, impossible. But so it is! What will we come to next?"

Another cause for great excitement was taking shape in Adrian itself at the time the news of the successful cable connection with England was received. In a large hall on the third floor of a building opposite the Exchange Hotel a number of women were stitching together long strips of silk to make a balloon under the direction of "Professor" Ira J. Thurston, an experienced aeronaut. Formerly of Lima, New York, he had made thirty-three ascents before settling in Adrian where he had established a nursery.

Also interested in the construction of the balloon was "Professor" W. D. Banister, another Adrian resident. According to newspaper accounts he had purchased the one thousand yards of silk required for the huge gas bag. He too had at least a slight claim to the title of aeronaut, for, several years earlier, he had himself fashioned a balloon and made one flight. On that occasion he had attained such altitude that he froze his feet. His desire for aerial navigation apparently satisfied for the moment, he sold the balloon to a man in Ohio who disappeared in a flight over Lake Erie. Now, however, he was eagerly awaiting the completion of the new balloon in which he intended to try another ascension. If it was successful, he was planning to make a cross country cruise from St. Paul, Minnesota, to the Atlantic coast.

Stories in the newspapers in July and August about the construction of the balloon must have aroused the interest of everyone in Adrian and the vicinity. On August 31 an advertisement in the Adrian Weekly Watchtower set the date, tentatively, for the great event.

GRAND BALLOON ASCENSION!!

PROF. W. D. BANISTER

Proposes to make one of his grand ascensions from the City of Adrian (the elements permitting) on Saturday, September 4, 1858, in Prof. Ira J. Thurston's new and splendid

AERIAL SHIP, ADRIAN!!

This stupendous machine is constructed of the best India silk, is 126 feet in circumference, and holds the enormous amount of

240,000 GALLONS!

The inflation will commence at 8 o'clock A.M., and the ascension will take place as soon as a sufficient quantity of gas is received for that purpose. The gas will be taken from the City Gas Works, under the superintendence of S. B. Barker. It is the intention of Prof. Banister to go but a few miles and return to the city with his balloon still inflated, and gratify any of his friends that wish to ascend a few hundred feet, by a rope being attached, for which a small fee will be charged.

In the same issue of the newspaper, the editor described the balloon as the largest ever seen in Michigan, and he expressed the opinion that the ascension "will doubtless be grand, and we may expect to see all the people from the rural districts in town to see it."

Charles Cleveland's diary reports that thousands of people came to Adrian on the appointed day, but that a high wind prevented the projected flight. A week later the elements again interfered with the plans of the aeronaut. A strong wind "ruptured" the balloon while it was being inflated, and an immense number of people from far and near had to return home without seeing the promised spectacle.

Instead of waiting another week, Banister decided to try again on Thursday, September 16. Although it might be impossible to notify the people in the rural district in time, he was assured of a great concourse of spectators; for on that day Adrian was to be host to a union Sunday School picnic. Trains from Jonesville, Manchester, Hillsdale, Sylvania, Hudson, Blissfield, and other towns in southern Michigan, and also from Toledo, were expected to bring several thousand people to Adrian in the morning.

Thurston and Banister began inflating the balloon on the public square at an early hour. As the great silk bag gradually took shape, residents of Adrian gathered to watch the process, and at 8:25 A.M. the train from Jonesville arrived with five hundred picnickers aboard. They joined the watchers at the square, and in an hour it was expected that other trains would add their passengers to the assemblage.

Banister intended to wait until a large crowd had collected, but a rising wind which threatened to blow more briskly caused Thurston to urge him to be off. And so, in spite of the small number present, a little before nine o'clock, Banister climbed into the car suspended below the gas bag. The ropes by which the balloon was moored were cast off by men detailed for that duty who held on awaiting the order to let go. Partially released from restraint, the balloon showed so much buoyancy that Banister invited Thurston to accompany him on the flight. Although he had not intended to go, he needed little urging to clamber over the side of the car and join the amateur flier.

When the ropes were released, the balloon rose rapidly and floated off in a southeasterly direction, the two aeronauts waving their hats to the spectators craning their necks below. In order to check the ascent Thurston opened the valve in the top of the bag to permit some of the gas to escape.

The view from the car of the balloon was extensive. Beneath them the aeronauts could see the rolling country traversed by roads, streams, and railroad tracks, with here and there the silver surface of a lake sparkling in the sunshine, and they could easily identify Adrian, Manchester, Tecumseh, and Clinton. Looking toward the east they saw the broad expanse of Lake Erie dotted here and there with miniature ships. Toward the south, Toledo appeared; toward the west, Coldwater, Hillsdale, and Jonesville; and toward the north, Jackson, Ann Arbor, Ypsilanti, and Detroit. Banister described it as "a scene that would well repay one for attempting even the hazardous experiment of a balloon ascension to look upon."

The open valve permitted enough gas to escape so that the balloon gradually descended and landed in Riga Township, Lenawee County, in a field belonging to a farmer named Dings, about seventeen miles from Adrian. Two men who were working nearby ran to the spot and helped hold the balloon while Thurston and Banister alighted. Soon nearly twenty-five men, women, and children had gathered around.

With the aid of volunteers the aeronauts removed the netting from the bag and detached the car. Although the valve was still open, the gas was escaping too slowly to suit Thurston, who wanted to catch the next train for Adrian. To expedite the deflation he compressed the silk near the top of the balloon, put it between his legs and sat down on the valve block, a circular board an inch thick and thirteen inches in diameter, which was now resting on the ground. Holding the collapsed top of the bag with his arms and legs, he directed Banister and two other men to raise the mouth of the balloon so that the gas might flow out rapidly. They obeyed, and Thurston told them to let go. Banister and one of them did, but the third, a farmer named Westerman, retained his hold.

Relieved of half its human ballast the balloon bounded into the air. When it was about ten feet from the ground, Westerman dropped off, but Thurston, sitting on the valve block, his arms tightly clasping the collapsed part of the bag, held on. Although he could not see it, several persons on the ground noticed now that the valve cord had wrapped itself around the mouth of the balloon, and was preventing the gas from escaping.

"Follow me across the field," Thurston called; "it will all be right shortly." But he had underestimated the buoyancy of the remaining gas, and, before his startled assistants could take a step, the balloon rose rapidly into the air. Rooted to the spot with horror, the little band of spectators watched the upsidedown bag veer away toward the southeast with Thurston clinging for his life to the slippery silk. Banister had a telescope, and for an hour he watched the balloon while it became smaller and smaller. He saw it caught by another current of air which bore it along toward the northeast. As long as it was in sight, Thurston appeared still to be seated on his precarious perch.

Westerman brought a wagon in which the car and the rigging were hauled to the Riga railway station, and at one o'clock in the afternoon Banister arrived at Adrian on the train. Almost overwhelmed by the tragedy which he had witnessed, he soon told the story of the runaway balloon. The news was quickly spread about the town, and residents and visitors could talk of nothing else. According to Cleveland's diary, Thurston's dreadful fate was the only topic of conversation for more than a week.

Newspapers featured the unusual story, and soon reports of the balloon began to come in. Several Canadians told of seeing it pass over the lighthouse at the mouth of the Thames River and continue inland. Banister, organizing a party in Adrian, crossed to Canada and began searching for Thurston and the balloon.

The huge deflated bag, slightly torn by catching on a tree in its descent, was found in Ontario on the farm of Joseph Marks, seven

miles southeast of Baptiste Creek and about thirty miles from Windsor; but there was no trace of Thurston. Several persons claimed to have seen a man clinging to the silk, but their testimony was given little credence. Nevertheless, Banister's party continued the search for Thurston's body, and a reward was offered to spur the efforts of local residents.

The balloon was carried to Detroit and put on display in the business office of the *Free Press*. Soon the building was besieged by so great a crowd of curious people that it was necessary to remove the bag and suspend it outside from a window of the fourth floor.

Cleveland wrote in his diary that the excitement in Adrian was still unabated on September 25, and the return that day of the balloon to its home town raised to a higher pitch the emotions of the people. A few days later the fatal gas bag was sent to Detroit and exhibited at the State Fair to thousands who had read of its tragic flight.

In spite of a prolonged search, Thurston's body was never found. It is likely that he lost his grip and fell from his seat on the valve block either into Lake Erie or Lake St. Clair—a melancholy ending of the flight which he had begun so lightheartedly that morning in Adrian.

Temple Beth El, Detroit, 1850-1950

Irving I. Katz

EARLY IN THE YEAR 1850, A GERMAN-JEWISH COUPLE by the name of Isaac and Sarah Cozens arrived in Detroit from New York and took up residence in a house near the corner of Congress and St. Antoine streets. Detroit then had a population of 21,019, including a few German-Jewish families. Mr. and Mrs. Cozens were soon joined by other Jewish immigrants and in the early spring of 1850, the first minyan (private religious service of ten males thirteen years of age and over) in Detroit was conducted in their home by Marcus Cohen. As has been traditional in Jewish life throughout the ages when ten or more Jewish families found themselves living together, the first impulse of the little band of Jews in Detroit was to unite in the organization of a congregation. Accordingly, steps were taken in the early summer of 1850, through the initiative of Mr. and Mrs. Cozens, to establish a congregation. Joseph Newman was elected temporary chairman and after a series of meetings, the Bet El Society, Michigan's first Jewish congregation, was formally organized on September 22, 1850, by about twenty-five German-Jewish families. The first officers elected were: Jacob Silberman, president; Solomon Bendit, vice-president and treasurer; and Joseph Freedman, secretary.

During the first half century of its existence, Congregation Beth El (originally the Bet El Society) was served by the following rabbis: Rabbi Samuel Marcus, 1850-54; Dr. Liebman Adler, 1854-61; Rabbi Abraham Laser, 1861-64; Dr. Isidor Kalisch, 1864-66; Rabbi Elias Eppstein, 1866-69; Dr. Kaufmann Kohler, 1869-71; Rabbi M. Greenblatt, 1870-71; Rabbi Emanuel Gerechter, 1871-74; Dr. Leopold Wintner, 1873-76; Dr. Henry Zirndorf, 1876-84; Dr. Louis Grossman, 1884-98.

Originally Beth El was an Orthodox congregation. The first rabbi, Rev. Samuel Marcus, fulfilled the functions of teacher, cantor, shohet (ritual slaughterer), and mohel. Moderate modifications of the ritual began during the ministry of Dr. Liebman Adler who came to Detroit at the recommendation of Dr. Isaac M. Wise, the founder of Reform

Judaism in America, and the first rabbi in Detroit to preach sermons (in German) at services.

During the first decade, the congregation met at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Cozens, at private homes of other members, in a rented room above the store of Silberman and Hersch on Jefferson Avenue, and in a rented hall over a drugstore on Michigan Grand Avenue (now Cadillac Square). In 1861 the congregation purchased for \$3,500 the French Methodist Episcopal Church on Rivard Street and on August 30, 1861, the Rivard Street Synagogue, Detroit's first Jewish house of worship, was dedicated by Dr. Isaac M. Wise, who preached the first English sermon at Beth El. The use of organ music and a mixed choir at the dedication of the Rivard Street Synagogue created a schism in the congregation, resulting in the withdrawal of seventeen members who established the Orthodox Congregation Shaarey Zedek which is today one of the largest Conservative congregations in the country.

This move on the part of the more Orthodox members gave a free hand to the remaining liberal members and in 1862 the congregation voted to introduce eight reforms. The congregation replaced the minhag Ashkenaz (German ritual used in Orthodox congregations) by the minhag America (American reform ritual). It retained organ music and a mixed choir as an integral part of the service. It introduced the three-year cycle of reading from the Torah instead of the one-year Orthodox cycle. It abolished the honors of aliyoth (calling up to the Torah). It abolished the wearing of the talith (prayer shawl) at services and the use of tachrichim (shrouds) for interments. It permitted congregants to worship without hats at services. It allowed men and women to sit together at services. And lastly, it introduced the ceremony of Confirmation in addition to the Orthodox ceremony of Bar Mitzvah.

Dr. Isidor Kalisch, one of the leading spirits of the Cleveland Rabbinical Conference in 1855, the first in America, and one of the editors of the Minhag America Prayer Book, was the first Detroit rabbi to preach English sermons. Rabbi Elias Eppstein introduced late Friday evening services in 1867, immediately following the occupancy by the congregation of the Washington Avenue Temple, Beth El's second house of worship on Washington Avenue (now Boulevard) and Clifford Street, which was dedicated by Dr. Isaac M. Wise.

Dr. Kaufman Kohler, who was brought by Beth El from Germany and in later years became the most powerful intellectual force in Reform Judaism in America and who served as the illustrious president of the Hebrew Union College, abolished the observance of the second day of the major festivals. Thus in less than a decade, since organ music and a mixed choir were introduced at Beth El, the con-

gregation traveled nearly the whole gamut of reform.

On July 8, 1873, a delegation from Beth El attended the meeting of thirty-four congregations in Cincinnati which organized the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and on September 28 of that year Beth El became an affiliate thereof. Representatives of Beth El also attended the Cleveland convention of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in July, 1874, where the establishment of the Hebrew Union College was endorsed. This college opened the following year. Consequently the Hebrew Union College celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding in June, 1950.

Dr. Henry Zirndorf, who was brought to Detroit from Germany and in later years served as professor of history and literature at the Hebrew Union College, established the temple library, oldest Jewish congregational library in Michigan and one of the oldest in the United States. During his ministry, Beth El made its first contact with the Hebrew Union College by engaging Israel Aaron, a student of the first graduation class of the college, to assist Dr. Zirndorf at the Holy

Day services of 1881.

Dr. Louis Grossmann was the first Hebrew Union College graduate to occupy the pupit of Beth El. In July, 1889, Temple Beth El was host to the Eleventh Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. At this convention, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the national organization of liberal rabbis in the United States which is today the largest and most influential rabbinical body in the world, was organized. In 1895, the congregation adopted the use of the *Union Prayer Book* published by the Central Conference of American Rabbis. In 1896, a law was passed prohibiting the wearing of hats at services which was optional with the members until that year.

The long and distinguished ministry of Dr. Leo M. Franklin, a graduate of the 1892 class of the Hebrew Union College, extended for almost half a century. Dr. Franklin served as active rabbi of Temple

Beth El from 1899 to 1941 and as rabbi emeritus from 1941 to the time of his death in 1948.

In 1900 the congregation celebrated its semi-centennial anniversary. In 1901, the *Temple Bulletin*, one of the first congregational bulletins in the county, was published. At the end of that year, however, Dr. Franklin became the editor of the *Jewish American*, Detroit's first English-Jewish weekly, and the newspaper became the official publication of Beth El until 1910 when the *Temple Bulletin* resumed publication.

Beth El's second house of worship was purchased for \$17,000 in 1867 when the congregation bought the Tabernacle Baptist Church on the corner of Woodward Avenue and Clifford Street and remodeled it into a synagogue. In 1903 the temple on Woodward and Elliot avenues, Beth El's third house of worship and the first to be built by the members, was dedicated. In the same year, Sunday morning services were introduced. They were continued until 1936 when they were replaced by the late Friday evening services. In 1903, Beth El was the pioneer congregation in the country to introduce democracy in the synagogue by adopting the unassigned seating system at services throughout the year, a plan which has since been inaugurated in over 50 per cent of the liberal congregations in the country.

From 1907 to 1909, Dr. Franklin served as president of the Hebrew Union College Alumni Association and from 1919 to 1921, he was president of the Central Conference of the American Rabbis. In 1914, Dr. Franklin established the Jewish Student Congregation at the University of Michigan, the first in the country and the forerunner of the present B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations.

In 1917, when Rabbi Samuel Mayerberg came here as the first full-time assistant rabbi, supplementary services on the High Holy Days for non-members was introduced. In 1920 the first congregational Seder was sponsored by the Temple. In 1921, Rabbi Henry Berkowitz succeeded Rabbi Mayerberg as assistant rabbi. In 1922, the present edifice on Woodward and Gladstone avenues, one of the finest in the country, was dedicated. In 1925 an amendment to the bylaws of the congregation was adopted which provided that the wife of a member automatically becomes a member of the congregation in her own right with full membership privileges. This led to the election of women on the board of trustees of the temple. In that year, Rabbi

Leon Fram succeeded Rabbi Berkowitz as director of religious education. In 1925 the congregation celebrated its diamond jubilee anniversary. In 1930 the congregation was re-incorporated in perpetuity. In 1937 Dr. Franklin delivered the alumni lectures and founder's day address at the Hebrew Union College. These were published in 1938 under the title *The Rabbi: The Man and His Message*.

In 1941, Temple Beth El and its auxiliary organizations were hosts to the Thirty-seventh Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the national conventions of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods, and National Federation of Temple Youth. At this council, the National Association of Temple Secretaries was founded by Irving I. Katz, executive secretary of Temple Beth El, Detroit, who served as the first president of the association. In the fall of 1941, a group of members organized Temple Israel, Detroit's second Reform temple.

In November, 1941, Dr. B. Benedict Glazer, senior associate rabbi of Temple Emanu-El in New York and a graduate of the 1926 class of the Hebrew Union College, succeeded Dr. Franklin. Under the dynamic spiritual leadership of Dr. Glazer, the temple has grown from nine hundred families in 1941 to sixteen hundred families in 1950 and is today the fourth largest Jewish congregation in the United States.

In 1942, a children's monthly Sabbath morning service, a Consecration Service for confirmands and their parents at the Sabbath eve service preceding Confirmation, and an annual book review course were instituted by Dr. Glazer. In the same year, Rabbi Herschel Lymon was appointed as minister of religious education. In 1943, Dr. Glazer founded the Annual Institute on Judaism for the Christian clergy of the city. In the same year the congregation liquidated its mortgage indebtedness. In 1945, a consecration ceremony for newly enrolled children in the religious school and a Hanukkah family service were introduced. In 1947, the first American Jewish cavalcade service was held jointly with Temple Israel. In August, 1947, Rabbi Sidney Akselrad assumed the post of assistant rabbi of the temple. To accommodate its large membership, double services on the evenings of holy days were introduced in 1948. In the same year, Dr. Glazer inaugurated the Child Naming Ceremony at the Sabbath morning services,

and in the following year, memorial services on the last day of Passover were introduced.

The following have served as presidents of Beth El during the past century: Jacob Silberman, Joseph Newman, Isidor Frankel, Morris Hirschman, Emanuel Schloss, Simon Freedman, Sigmund Rothschild, David J. Workum, Simon Heavenrich, Martin Butzel, Seligman Schloss, Julius Robinson, Samuel Heavenrich, Julius Freud, Louis Blitz, Henry M. Butzel, Bernard B. Selling, Benjamin L. Lambert, Louis Welt, Bernard Ginsburg, Isaac Gilbert, Adolph Finsterwald, Milford Stern, Melville S. Welt, Israel Himelhoch, Morris Garvett, Harry C. Grossman, Joseph M. Welt, Leonard T. Lewis, Dr. Herbert I. Kallet, and Nate S. Shapero, the present incumbent.

The school of Temple Beth El dates back to 1850 when a "German, Hebrew and English school," an all-day school, was opened where the children received their secular as well as Jewish education. With the development of the public school system in Detroit, the all-day school was discontinued in 1869 and replaced by a congregational Religious School with sessions on Saturday and Sunday mornings and twice weekly after public school hours. In the 1870's, it became a Sunday school. The Religious School now has an enrollment of nine hundred children and is one of the largest in the country. The school is in charge of Dr. B. Benedict Glazer, superintendent; Rabbi Sidney Akselrad, director; Mrs. Samuel Mendelsohn, faculty and student advisor; Miss Rosalind Schubot, secretary; and a corps of forty teachers.

The Young People's Club is the oldest auxiliary organization of the temple. It was founded by Dr. Louis Grossman in 1886 as the Temple Alumni Association and now numbers two hundred members. Albert Colman is president of the Young People's Club.

The Sisterhood of the Temple was founded by Dr. Franklin in 1901 as the Women's Auxiliary Association of Temple Beth El and is the oldest sisterhood in the state. It now has a membership of thirteen hundred and is the largest sisterhood in the country. Mrs. Adolph Sloman was the first president of the Sisterhood and Mrs. M. George Wayburn is the current president.

The Men's Club of the temple was founded by Dr. Franklin in 1919 and is the oldest men's club in the state and one of the oldest in the country. It has a membership of 750, one of the largest in the

country. Walter S. Heavenrich served as the first president; Walter D. Schmier is the current president.

Scout activities began in Temple Beth El as early as 1910, the year in which the national Boy Scout movement was inaugurated. Beth El's Boy Scout Troop No. 76, chartered in 1918, is the oldest Jewish troop in Michigan. Girl Scout Troop No. 28 also meets at the Temple.

Adult Jewish education was started at Beth El as early as the 1850's when Rabbi Liebman Adler introduced the preaching of sermons at services. Formal adult study classes on Jewish subjects were inaugurated by Dr. Louis Grossmann and have been the order of the day since his time. In 1925, Beth El College of Jewish Studies, one of the first evening schools for adults in the country, was opened. It is still in existence.

A literary club, called Polemia, for general adult education was organized by Rabbi Elias Eppstein as early as 1867. Rabbi Louis Grossman was the founder of the Emerson Circle, a society for the promotion of culture. Dr. Leo M. Franklin inaugurated a temple forum course as early as 1904. Dr. B. Benedict Glazer introduced the annual book review course and child guidance course.

The rabbis and the leaders of Temple Beth El were responsible for the founding of a number of organizations and institutions in the city. The Bikur Cholim (sick visiting) Society was established in 1851. Pisgah Lodge No. 34, B'nai B'rith, Michigan's oldest lodge. which is today the largest lodge in the world, was organized in 1857. In 1863, the Ladies' Society for the Support of Hebrew Widows and Orphans in the State of Michigan was founded. This society functioned until the 1920's. The Gentlemen's Hebrew Relief Society. Detroit's first centralized Jewish philanthropic organization, which was sponsored jointly with Congregation Shaarev Zedek, was established in 1869. The name of this society was later changed to Beth El Hebrew Relief Society. In the thirty years of its existence the Relief Society dispensed almost \$100,000 in charity. In 1882, the Hebrew Ladies' Sewing Society; and in 1889, the Self Help Circle were organized. The Women's Club of Temple Beth El which later became the Jewish Women's Club of Detroit and in 1925 the Detroit Section of the National Council of Jewish Women was formed in 1891. The United Jewish Charities out of which sprang the Jewish Welfare Federation in 1926, was organized in 1899.

In addition to the two daughter congregations of Beth El, Congregation Shaarey Zedek and Temple Israel, the following Reform congregations in Michigan were organized by Beth El: Temple Beth El of Flint, Temple Beth El of Port Huron, Temple Beth Jacob of Pontiac, Temple Beth El of Lansing, and Temple Beth El of Saginaw.

The record of participation of the rabbis and a goodly number of members of Beth El in the growth and development of the Jewish community of Detroit is a very impressive one.

The rabbis of Beth El have made a notable contribution to the life and progress of the community of Detroit. In 1882, Dr. Henry Zirndorf preached for the first time from the pulpit of the Church of our Father and since that year there has been a continuous interchange of pulpits between our rabbis and the Christian ministers in the community.

Rabbi Zirndorf was also the first rabbi to speak before civic and educational groups, a practice which has continued uninterruptedly since his time. Dr. Louis Grossman was regarded as the spokesman of the Jews of Detroit before the general community.

There has been no social, civic, or philanthropic movement begun in Detroit in which Dr. Leo M. Franklin did not take an active part. He was honored for his work by being awarded an Honorary Doctor of Laws degree by the University of Detroit; an Honorary Doctor of Laws degree by Wayne University; a "citation for distinguished living" by the Detroit Round Table of Catholics, Jews, and Protestants; and by being elected, at three different periods, as president of the Detroit Public Library. Among the projects established by Dr. Franklin, which continue to this day, is the Citizen's Interdenominational Thanksgiving Service which was founded by him in 1902 and which is said to have been the first in the country.

There are few rabbis in the country whose record of leadership in the general community has been more brilliant than that of Dr. B. Benedict Glazer. Although he has been a resident of Detroit for only nine years, his influence and magnificent leadership has been felt throughout the community. He was recently cited as one of the seven leading citizens of Detroit. Dr. Glazer serves on the boards of the leading civic, educational, and philanthropic institutions of the city. Among the important posts held by Dr. Glazer is the presidency of

the Wayne County chapter of the Michigan Society for Mental Hygiene.

Beginning with the Civil War, the members of Beth El have a notable record of participation in home front efforts and in active service. On November 7, 1861, during the Civil War, Beth El was represented at the organization meeting of the Ladies' Aid Society of Detroit which shortly thereafter became known as the Soldiers' Aid Society, the first in the United States. A number of Beth El members saw active service during the Civil War. On April 19, 1865, Dr. Isidor Kalisch conducted a memorial service for President Abraham Lincoln in the Rivard Street Synagogue, the first memorial service for a non-Jew held in a synagogue in Detroit.

There is a record of eight Beth El members who participated in the

Spanish-American War.

Members and sons of Beth El members numbering 207 saw active service during World War I and four made the supreme sacrifice. The Red Cross unit of the Sisterhood of Temple Beth El was the largest and most active in the city.

In World War II, 518 members and sons and daughters of members were in active service and ten made the supreme sacrifice. The temple and its auxiliary organizations sold a total of \$11,000,000 in bonds during the war loan drives, the highest of any congregation in America. The Sisterhood Red Cross unit was, as in World War I, the largest

and most active congregational unit in the city.

In the early years of its history, the rabbi of Beth El also officiated as cantor, without choral or musical accompaniment. When organ music and a mixed choir were introduced in 1861, Abraham J. Franklin became the first voluntary music director, a position which he filled for twenty-five years. The first organist of the temple was Herman Bishop, music director of the Harmonie Society. The post of music director and organist is now being held by Jason H. Tickton.

On January 1, 1851, a few months after its organization, Temple Beth El purchased half an acre of land adjoining Elmwood Cemetery as a burial ground. The purchase price was \$150, of which half was paid in cash and the other half secured by notes payable with interest in six and twelve months respectively, and for their payment a mortgage was given on the cemetery. This historic cemetery, the first Jewish cemetery in Detroit, was known for many years as the Champlain

Street Cemetery. It is still owned and maintained by the temple and is now known as the Lafayette Street Cemetery. In 1873, Temple Beth El made arrangements with Woodmere Cemetery for the exclusive use of Section North F. In 1915, Section Beth El in Woodmere Cemetery was added for the use of the congregation. In 1939, Beth El Memorial Park, on West Six Mile Road between Inkster and Middlebelt roads, was opened. It is now one of the most beautiful cemeteries in this part of the country. It covers forty acres of land. Kaal B. Segall is managing director.

In the fall of 1949, the temple and its auxiliary organizations launched a comprehensive and outstanding program of events in honor of the one hundredth anniversary year of Beth El. The climax of this program, which received commendable notice from congregations throughout the land, took place on March 24 and 25, 1950. At that time, the most prominent leaders in American Liberal Judaism and others joined Beth El in celebrating its growth from a small weak

congregation to one of the strongest in the world.

Early Jewish Philanthropic Organizations in Detroit

Allen A. Warsen

In 1850 when Concregation Beth El was founded, over sixty Jews were living in Detroit. Compared to the city's total population of 21,019, the percentage of Jewish residents was very small, namely 3 per cent.

This proportion remained practically unchanged until the turn of the century, although the Detroit Jewish Community grew numerically. Though few in numbers, the Jewish inhabitants were not a homogeneous group. Even economically they were composed of various hetrogeneous elements. Some of them were even in need of material assistance. As the need for such aid increased a number of organizations whose purpose it was to help financially and otherwise the economically less fortunate members of the community came into being.

One of these organizations was the Beth El Hebrew Relief Society, which was founded in December, 1869, for the purpose of assisting poor Jewish families. Some of the families received regular monthly

pensions, others were given temporary relief.1

Another important organization in those early days was the Ladies' Society for the Support of Hebrew Widows and Orphans in the State of Michigan, known as *Frauen Verein*. It was organized in 1863 for the purpose of relieving poor widows and orphans. The society had an annual expenditure of about \$1,000 raised by annual dues and income from funds, accumulated during the years of the society's existence.

In 1896, the society supported thirteen widows, paying them regular pensions. Some of these widows have been supported by the society for many years. One blind woman had been aided financially for over twenty-five years. A few of the pensioners received, in the long run, as much as \$4,000. "This did not imply, that the Society by

¹Eleventh Annual Report of the Detroit Association of Charities, 37 (Detroit, 1890).

accepting a client, considered itself as having thereby agreed to support her indiscriminately."2

Besides giving pecuniary aid, the Ladies' Society for the Support of Hebrew Widows and Orphans attempted to help its clients to become self-supporting by giving them instruction in home economics and by educating their children and helping shape the children's careers, so that they could support their widowed mothers. The society was also interested in social reform and social legislation. It influenced the members of the state legislature to pass a law providing public school instruction for the deaf and dumb children. It also was against child labor and for better housing conditions.3

The early presidents of the society were Mrs. Emil S. Heineman. 1864 and 1869-72 and Mrs. Louis Hirshman, 1865-69. The first secretaries were Mrs. Isidor Frankel, 1864-66; Mrs. S. L. Knoll, 1866-68; Mrs. Simon Cohen, 1868; Mrs. Elias Eppstein, 1869; and Mrs. Rugo Hill, 1870-72. The early treasurers were Mrs. Morris Troumtine, 1864-66 and Mrs. Bernhard Prell, 1869-72.4

Other organizations existing before 1900 were: the Hebrew Ladies' Sewing Society, the Self Help Circle, and the Jewish Relief Society. The Hebrew Ladies' Sewing Society was organized in 1882 and the Self Help Circle in 1889. No published data could be found as to the dates of establishment of the Jewish Relief Society or the scope of work of the four organizations. But from the existence of similar associations in other lewish communities and from their activities as affiliated organizations of the United Jewish Charities,5 we may deduce that the Jewish Relief Society was active in helping the needy in emergency cases; the Ladies' Sewing Society, known in the Jewish East European communities as Mabish Arumim, furnished the poor families with clothing; the Self Help Circle was an educational association whose purpose was to give instruction to the newly arrived

²Seventeenth Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Detroit Association of Charities, 29-30 (Detroit, 1896). These widows were probably the wives of the Jewish soldiers killed during the Civil War. Twenty two of the

²¹⁰ Jewish soldiers of Michigan participating in the war were killed.

3Twenty-first Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Detroit Association of Charities, 20-21 (Detroit, 1900).

4Silas Farmer, The History of Detroit and Michigan, 657 (Detroit, 1884).

5The United Jewish Charities were organized in 1899.

⁶A Hebrew expression meaning to clothe the naked.

immigrant women in English and home economics, and the Ladies' Aid Society supplemented the work of the Beth El Relief Society. Its members visited poor families and furnished them with clothing.⁷

The Temple Beth El Relief Society, the Ladies' Society for the Support of Hebrew Widows and Orphans, and the other societies were typical of early Jewish philanthropic organizations. Their ideal of charity exemplified the traditional Jewish conception of helping the poor, the stranger, the orphan, and the widow.

⁷Eleventh Annual Report of the Detroit Association of Charities, 37.

The John M. Munson Michigan History Fund

By the terms of his will Dr. John M. Munson, former president of Michigan State Normal College at Ypsilanti, left the residue of his estate amounting to more than \$100,000 to the Ann Arbor Trust Company in trust for the Michigan Historical Commission. By the terms of Mr. Munson's will the Historical Commission is to write, publish, and distribute a history of Michigan for use in the schools and a history of education in Michigan.

After making certain specific bequests to relatives, Mr. Munson left \$1,000 to the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church of Kane, Pennsylvania and \$2,000 to Michigan State Normal College, \$1,000 of which is for a scholarship fund in honor of Miss Margaret Wise and \$1,000 for a scholarship fund in honor of Miss Elizabeth McCricket. The residue of his estate was bequeathed to the Ann Arbor Trust Company in trust. The trust is to be known as the John M. Munson Michigan History Fund. After specifying the power and authority of the Ann Arbor Trust Company in relation to the management and administration of the trust estate, Mr. Munson's will stated that:

It is my will that at such time as said Michigan Historical Commission is satisfied that the funds available from the John M. Munson Michigan History Fund, or from said fund, together with other funds which it may have available from other sources and which may be used for such purpose, will be sufficient to pay all costs incidental to the preparation and publishing of such a history, it shall notify the Trustee of that fact, and upon the giving of such notice, the income and principal of the John M. Munson Michigan History Fund shall become available, as needed, to pay costs accruing by reason of the writing and publishing of such a history of the state of Michigan.

In carrying out the duties and obligations herein imposed, the Michigan Historical Commission may hire and commission such historians, agents and representatives as it shall deem necessary and expedient to carry out the work to be performed incidental to the preparation and publishing of the history, and the Trustee shall, on order of said Commission, pay out, from time to time, such sums from the John M. Munson Michigan History

Fund in payment of expenses herein contemplated as the Commission may direct.

If the Michigan Historical Commission shall, in writing, decline to undertake the writing and publishing of the history of Michigan, to be written and published under the terms hereof, or shall fail to notify the Trustee of its ability to finance the writing and publishing of such a history solely from the funds held in the John M. Munson Michigan History Fund herein established or with such funds, together with other funds which it may have available for such purpose, within a period of three years from the date of my death, and within such period shall fail to actually start work thereon, or should funds remain in said John M. Munson Michigan History Fund after said history of the state of Michigan shall be written and published and the same not be required to pay expenses incidental thereto, then, in any such event, the trust estate herein created as the "John M. Munson Michigan History Fund" shall be terminated and all of its trust assets of every kind and description shall be transferred, set over, assigned and conveyed to the general fund of the state of Michigan.

I consider it important that the citizens of Michigan have adequate and correct knowledge of the history and functions of the state of Michigan and its institutions and that this should be taught to the young people in its schools and colleges, and to this end I direct that,

(1) There shall be made available, in book form, a history suitable for the elementary and high schools, giving the basic facts and the development of the state of Michigan to its present status, and

(2) That there shall be made available, in book form, a history suitable for teacher educating institutions, devoted to the history of education in the state of Michigan, outlining clearly, the constitutional and legal basis upon which the structure of public education rests, as well as a clear and thorough account of the organization and operation of the whole system of public education of the state.

I direct that the first book shall be produced in sufficient numbers to furnish a copy to each school district, county and city library, and that the second book to be produced in sufficient numbers to furnish a number of copies to each library of each of the colleges, public and private, which are legally approved for the educating of teachers for certification. The distribution of the books above shall be subject to the judgment of the Michigan State Historical Commission.

JOHN M. MUNSON

James B. Edmonson

THE LIFE STORY OF JOHN M. MUNSON tells how the son of a Swedish immigrant by sheer determination, hard work, and a compelling love

of learning advanced from lowly beginnings to high positions in public education. He was an influential leader in Michigan education for more than 35 years, and his death on June 22, 1950, brought to a close a career that began in the rural schools of Menominee County and ended with his retirement from the presidency of the Michigan State Normal College.

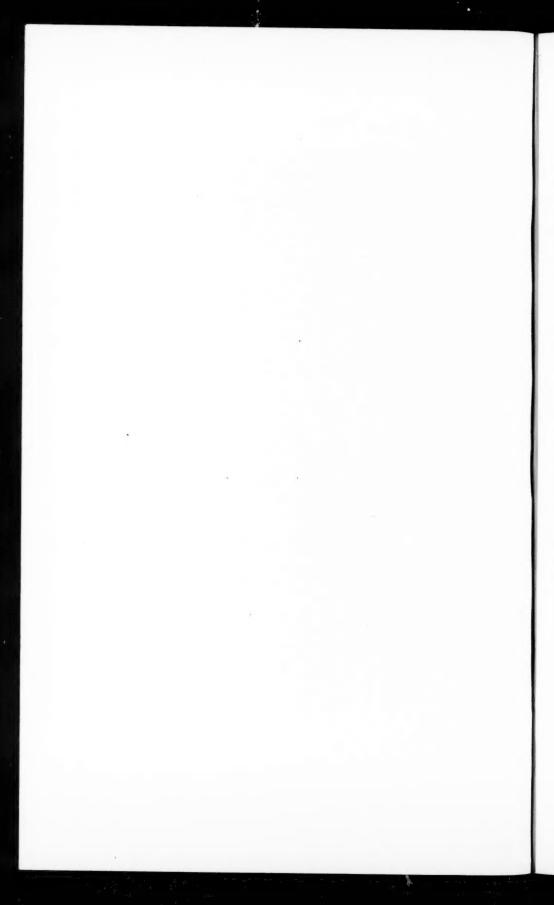
John Munson was born in 1878 at Kane, Pennsylvania, and his early education was secured in the country schools nearby. After his mother's death in 1890 he came to Menominee, where he worked in a print shop, in the local sawmills, and in lumber camps. His first teacher's certificate was obtained by county examination in 1905 when he began his teaching career in the rural schools of Menominee County. He later took work at Ferris Institute and at Michigan State Normal College. He received the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy in 1911 at the University of Chicago where he later pursued graduate studies. He was awarded the honorary degree of Master of Education in 1913 by the Michigan State Normal College. In 1939, Ashland College in Ohio awarded him a Doctor of Laws degree and in 1942 Wayne University recognized his distinguished services by giving him the honorary degree of Doctor of Education.

Mr. Munson was superintendent of schools at Clarkston from 1903 to 1905 and at Harbor Springs from 1905 to 1913. In 1913 he was appointed deputy state superintendent of public instruction by Governor Woodbridge N. Ferris and played an important part in the expansion of the influence and services of the State Department of Public Instruction. In this position Mr. Munson provided much leadership in securing the enactment of the first law providing pensions for teachers and assisted in the development of the early policies of the board in charge of the Michigan teachers retirement fund. He increased the department's services to the rural schools and the smaller high schools of Michigan. He left the State Department of Public Instruction in 1919 to become director of the training school of Central Michigan Normal School. In 1923, he became president of the Northern State Teachers College, and ten years later he was appointed president of the Michigan State Normal College, which position he held from 1933 to 1948.

As president of the Michigan State Normal College, Mr. Munson promoted plans for the construction of five new dormitories, one of



JOHN M. MUNSON



which was named for him by action of the State Board of Education. During his administration, several new units were erected, among which are the Health Education Building, the Hoover Laboratory for Natural Sciences, the Horace H. Rackham School of Special Education, and Pierce Hall.

While president of the Normal College, Mr. Munson was honored by both the students and alumni. In his honor a scholarship fund was created by the contributions from the senior classes of 1941, 1942, 1944, and 1945. In 1942, Dr. E. A. Pittinger of Aberdeen, South Dakota, an alumnus of the Normal College, gave a sum of money to the Michigan State Board of Education, the income from which provides an annual address at the college, known as the John Munson Address.

Mr. Munson took an active interest in the work of the State Teachers Association of which he was a life member, and which he served as president in 1926. For several years he was editor of the *Moderator-Topics*, a weekly publication, the predecessor of the *Michigan Education Journal*.

Mr. Munson never married. However, his interest in children and young people was very genuine, and times without number these young friends were aided through his wise and sympathetic counsel and when in need financially through sympathetic counsel and by gifts of money. He had a real affection for younger children, and children liked him. Years ago, whenever Mr. Munson visited schools for the State Department of Public Instruction, he would spend much time in the early elementary grades, and the teachers and the children were always glad to see him. One day the writer said, "John, you seem to like to visit with children." He replied, "Yes I do. Children always have something worthwhile to talk about, and many adults do not."

In 1915, while Mr. Munson was serving as deputy state superintendent of public instruction, he prepared an article entitled Why Michigan is Great. This article was published as a leaflet and was widely circulated. In this article Mr. Munson paid a high tribute to the boys and girls of Michigan, and said in part:

From Maumee Bay to Isle Royale is farther than from London to Berlin. Between lies an empire—fields of grain, sparkling lakes, and richest mines.

People truly exclaim: "Michigan is a great state!" But neither because it is large nor rich is Michigan a great state.

What then makes Michigan great?

I will tell you.

If the boys and girls of Michigan join hands, they form a solid line from Keweenaw to Lenawee—six hundred miles in all.

And who are the boys and girls in that line?

I know who they are, I know them all. They are the Joy of Today and the Promise of a Greater Tomorrow.

I see boys and girls, ten hundred thousand of them, all different, all aspiring, all good.

It is they that make Michigan great.

The Public School is their Opportunity and how eagerly do they grasp it!

Why is it, when all the world is warring, Uncle Sam is so calm and patient and unafraid? You know. It is because from Ocean to Ocean, from Lakes to Gulf, he hears the tramp, tramp, tramp, of twenty million boys and girls who every morning, rain or shine, set out for the American Public School to conquer the knowledge of the World. That is the largest, the most invincible host that ever marched in any country in all history. The whole globe sways under its footstep.

In the front rank of that procession is Michigan, My Michigan!

What shall come of our triumphant band—these boys and girls of Michigan?¹

Mr. Munson was a man of broad scholarship and a well-informed student of history but his writings were largely reports and editorials. His professional reputation was largely within the state, for he never sought positions of national leadership and seldom accepted invitations to participate in the activities of national organizations.

Mr. Munson was so taciturn that many persons found it exceedingly difficult to become acquainted with him. By some he was considered a non-communicative person, with a highly individualistic disposition. He had little patience with the prolonged discussions that characterize so many educational conferences and considered attendance at most educational meetings a waste of valuable time. When an important issue arose, however, Mr. Munson's views were frequently solicited. President Eugene B. Elliott of the Michigan State Normal College wrote of Mr. Munson:

¹The leaflet was published by the State Department of Public Instruction in 1915. It is out of print. The article was reprinted as "Why Michigan Is Great" in the Seventy-Ninth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the year 1915-1916, 98-100 (Lansing, 1916).

He had the faculty of penetrating into distance in making decisions, and we have learned that he was so right in making the ones he did. What President Munson thought was often questioned at the time but later proved right.²

Mr. Munson possessed unusual capacity for winning and holding the friendship of those who were closely associated with him. He was a conservative in education and usually voiced determined opposition to proposals that he deemed to be of doubtful value. He exercised a conservative but constructive influence on the State Department of Public Instruction as well as on the policies of the three higher institutions in which he served.

It did not surprise Mr. Munson's close friends to learn that he had left more than \$100,000 for the promotion of interest in Michigan history, because he often deplored the neglect of state history in the instructional programs of Michigan schools. He was exceedingly proud of the history of his adopted state and had a deep admiration for the men and women who had contributed to its early development. If his gift serves to strengthen the pride and affection of children for the state of Michigan, one of Mr. Munson's strong desires will be realized.

At the time of Mr. Munson's death, Dr. Alexander G. Ruthven, president of the University of Michigan, said:

He will be particularly missed by the educators in the state who have been aware of his sincerity and wisdom in the training of young people for responsible positions in society. I have been closely associated with Mr. Munson for several years, and I have appreciated his ability and enjoyed his friendship.

Mr. Munson lived a life filled with hard work, strong friendships, and good deeds, and he will live on in the constructive work that he did and in the memories of his many friends.

²Ypsilanti Daily Press, June 23, 1950.

Swing Your Pardner, Right and Left

Mildred H. Gulick

UNCLE Mose was a TALL, ANGULAR MAN with a prominent nose and an ear for music. He lived in the late eighteen hundreds on a farm in Ionia County. Although he pretended to be a farmer, and toiled at that occupation on his hilly, sandy piece of land, he had sadly missed his calling.

In his youth he was attending college back in New York state when the inopportune death of his ambitious mother thwarted his desire to become a journalist; therefore he was left to drift upon life's sea without any vocation whatever. Whereupon he migrated to Michigan, married, and settled down to rear a family.

As always there lived among the early settlers many citizens who enjoyed dancing. Due to the fact that woodsmen had the name of being rough characters the dances were frowned upon by the most decorous and strait-laced churchgoers. However, the majority entered into the festive spirit.

As there was no entertainment center, some good housewife would offer her home for an evening of frivolity. It made a gathering place for the young fry, and for as many of the oldsters as wished to participate. To the house parties came the inhabitants from many miles around. They were held, usually, on long winter evenings. The guests arrived in bobsleighs, on horseback, or by walking.

The music was furnished by a fiddler and someone who could play chords on an organ. If the neighborhood boasted two fiddlers—all the better. Uncle Mose, being adept with the violin, was sure to be included in the orchestra. Playing at dances not only satisfied his thirst for music to a certain degree, but also helped to eke out the family budget.

Before the guests arrived, the hostess of the evening had cleared the main room, scrubbed the floor, and sprinkled shaven wax thereupon to cause the feet to slide over it more easily. Chairs, some borrowed from friends one or two miles away, were placed close to the wall for the convenience of onlookers, wallflowers, or anyone who wished to "sit this one out."

The musicians came early to get "their feet placed" in one corner. Since the first arrivals were boys without partners, a general conversation was held while Uncle Mose tuned his instrument, cocking his head the better to detect a false note. The conversation centered around him while he rosined his bow and earnestly prepared for the exciting shindig.

The visiting continued with the simultaneous pounding of a and the squawk of a string, until more people had gathered. The party began early, but that did not mean that it ended early. All night they danced. The dances were held on Friday nights—or any other night except Sunday or Saturday. The early settlers did not believe in dancing on the Sabbath, which for them began at midnight. At the most, only two sets could dance in one room; sometimes an adjacent room was cleared and pressed into use.

As the merrymakers approached the house, they were greeted by the dulcet tones of the organ as its player pumped out the well-known chords, while above it could be heard Uncle Moses' violin carrying the tune, the fiddler thumping out the rhythm with his right foot to keep time. Above even the laughter and shuffling of sturdy boots and shoes on the rough hewn boards arose the caller's voice as he singsonged the changes.

"Honor your pardners," he ordered.

A sprightly young lady lifted her long skirt a trifle and curtsied. Her partner, scraping his right foot, bowed politely.

"First four, right and left." Couples swerved as they followed through.

"Swing your pardner." Around and around they went, heads thrown back, curls and skirts flying—coattails fluttering in the breeze the spinning couples created.

The dancers enjoyed the old rollicking tunes, "Turkey in the Straw," "Money Musk," "The Irish Washerwoman," and "The Devil's Dream," never ending, never tiring!

Even on the coldest of nights and with the heating stove shut off, raining perspiration wilted starched collars and shirt bosoms.

The violinist, not to be outdone by the revelers, maneuvered enthusiastically and ridiculously. Swinging to the right and left, he completed a semicircle every minute, at which time he deposited a stream of tobacco juice into a near-by spittoon. Sometimes he perfected an Irish jig or, shifting his burley to one corner of his mouth, sang a few bars. "Turkey in the straw—Ha! Ha! Ha! Turkey in the hay—Hey! Hey! Hey!" he bellowed, then relapsed into fiddle ability until the end of the dance, whereupon he collapsed upon his chair, mopping his brow with a red bandanna handkerchief.

"Join your paddies and circle to the left," intoned the caller.

Light feet in heavy shoes kept exact time. "Do-ce-do—with the corner lady,"—they were proud to accomplish that feat.

"The Grapevine Twist," was another favorite. Woe to the one at the end of the grapevine; he or she might go reeling groggily!

Some blades who came late and without partners might have stopped on the way to sample some hard cider. These the girls refused, thus subjecting them to ridicule, whereupon they soon retired into the outer darkness.

Great courtesy was shown on the dance floor. No matter how amorous a swain might become on the way home, he was a gentleman while at the party. Skirts might fly high enough to expose the outside petticoat, yet no exceptions were taken. The gents could, as far as mannerisms were concerned, grace any royal ballroom.

At midnight a bountiful supper was served. It being fifty years before the potluck era, the lady of the house had cooked succulent meat, baked beans, cakes, and pies. The food was served with tankards of steaming coffee at a long table.

As the caller and musicians were the first to eat, they were the first to arise.

"Fill up the floor!"—the organist resumed his seat atop a swivel stool, Uncle Mose stationed himself beside him, and couples left half cups of coffee to slide onto the now sleek floor.

"On with the dance!" The music struck up with a boom and a squeak.

"Places all!"

"The first two gents cross over," the parties indicated shuffled past one another rhythmically.

The first rays of the winter sun stole over the tardy horizon—a harbinger of a new day. "Promenade, you know where," the caller bellowed hoarsely, the organist crashed his strong hands down on the last chords and Uncle Mose, while giving the last strum with his thumb, broke a catgut string.

Then and only then did the prancers relax. Bundled in great caped cloaks, fascinators, and gaiters, they trudged wearily out to the blanketed, waiting horses, tumbled into sleighs, or mounted a fiery plow horse and disappeared beyond the woods.

Chords a-pounding, squeaky fiddle;
Take that lady down the middle.
Laughing ladies, gallant men;
Do-ce-do and back again.
Wall-flowers nodding, hob-nailed shoes;
Circle to the left and partners choose.
Swing that lady once more about—
Can't you hear the caller shout?
Alamen left and leave the hall—
You've just been to a pioneer ball!

Michigan Bibliography: 1949

Compiled by Alice Cook

SINCE THE PURPOSE OF THIS BIBLIOGRAPHY IS TO LIST data printed or written in 1949 which would be helpful to those interested in Michigan history, the bulk of the material has been gleaned from historical periodicals. Many articles dealing with Detroit and Michigan were found while perusing popular magazines, but only the ones with historical interest were retained. New books, pamphlets, and unpublished manuscripts were found chiefly by checking the incoming material at the Burton Historical Collection where most of this work was done. Valuable aid also was given by the staffs of the Kalamazoo Public Library, the Michigan State Library, and the Michigan Historical Collections at the University of Michigan.

The compilation is organized on the same plan as Mr. Russell E. Bidlack's bibliography for 1948. The material has been arranged in three categories: books and pamphlets, articles, unpublished materials and miscellaneous. Although no special attempt was made to find additional 1948 items, any that turned up were included. Two newspaper items of special interest were added, although, following the policy of last year, newspapers were not checked.

This bibliography is submitted with the realization that there are probably many valuable items still at large unknown to the compiler. These should be brought to the attention of the Historical Society of Michigan's bibliography committee so they may be included in next year's list.

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Michigan News

Adaption to present-day use is one way in which early Michigan buildings can be preserved since complete restoration is so rarely possible. Emil Lorch, chairman of the Historical Society of Michigan's committee on the preservation of buildings of historical and architectural value, found this to be true at Manchester where change of ownership and reconstruction of the Fountain-Haeussler-Walton house has imposed some interior changes for greater livability while the exterior has been carefully restored. Built about ninety years ago as a one-story house it received a smaller-in-bulk second story and a cupola in the course of time which produced a set-back mass before skyscrapers assumed such a shape under the requirements of building laws. The one-story porch is of excellent design and proportions and has fluted columns with carved Ionic capitals since the construction took place while classical design was the vogue. Houses of this influence were wooden with heavy timber framing. Their house plans called for large rooms on opposite sides of a central entrance and stair hall. In the Fountain house there are large fireplaces with mantels framed in classical mouldings, one having Greek Doric columns and a Greek fret in the frieze.

At Sault Ste. Marie the surviving half of the John Johnston dwelling, that which Henry Rowe Schoolcraft and his wife occupied for a time, has been largely rebuilt by the city. At the Sault the city supplied the funds as at Dearborn where reconstruction is continuing on the headquarters building of what was the Detroit Arsenal at Dearbornville in 1833. The two-story west porch and the balustrade above the main cornice are now being restored and most of the building is being fitted up as the Dearborn Historical Commission's museum. Detroit's Fort Wayne is another museum and preservation project under the sponsorship of a city. It is hoped that other communities will be inspired by the example of these cities.

A mansion which would make an admirable city or county museum, or both, is the Abner Pratt or "Hawaiian House" at Marshall. Inspired by Hawaiian architecture it is the apotheosis of the bracketted style and is unique in our country. Though lacking its two original wings it is spacious and has an outstanding site. It is a must for visitors to Marshall where so much has been done to preserve fine examples of early architecture.

THE HAMTRAMCK HISTORICAL SOCIETY at its first fall meeting, September 28, voted unanimously for joint membership in the Historical Society of Michigan. The Hamtramck society's twenty-seven members are now jointly members of the local society and the state society, enjoying the full advantages of both groups, through the payment of one dollar local dues plus two dollars to the state society. Charter membership in the Hamtramck society is being held open until January 1, 1951. Officers for the current year were elected at this meeting. They are: president, Mitchell Konieczny; vice-president, Ladislaus Dombrowski; secretary, Mrs. John Rybicki; treasurer, Mrs. Frederica Dickinson; and executive secretary, Stanley J. Tanner.

THE MARINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DETROIT in June unanimously re-elected last year's officers. They are: the Rev. Edward J. Dowling, S.J., president; Jack Miller, vice-president; Kenneth Smith, treasurer; and Bob Zeleznik, secretary. The marine group in July held a noon picnic at Bob Lo Park. For their first fall meeting, September 9, this group returned to its regular meeting place, the Fort Malden Museum at Amherstburg. After a picnic on the museum grounds the members gathered in the auditorium of the museum to hear the speaker of the evening, Captain J. Earl McQueen of Amherstburg. Captain McQueen, winner of the International Tugboat Race, told some of his experiences in tugboat work and salvaging.

THE WASHTENAW HISTORICAL SOCIETY on its annual historical tour, June 24, 1950, visited a number of interesting historical sites in Washtenaw, Jackson, and Lenawee counties. A long stop was made at the Walker Tavern at Cambridge Junction on US112. Completely furnished as of more than one hundred years ago the tavern is self-supporting from admission fees, a fact suggestive to communities having an historically or architecturally interesting early house or other building which could be furnished to illustrate the life and tastes of a period in the community's history. Following the tour the society held its annual meeting and dinner at Trinity Episcopal Church, Tecumseh. Trinity Episcopal Church was built in 1833.

Its design seems to reflect a compromise between two factions of the congregation. The front has a fine monumental Greek Doric portico while the window openings are pointed or in the Gothic tradition. A Greek and a thirteen centurist would both be amazed when they saw this towered building. Originally the main entrance was at the same end as the chancel causing embarrassment to late comers. As a consequence the arrangement was reversed by moving the chancel to the other end of the church. This involved additional construction.

The seal of the Washtenaw Historical Society appears on the cover of the August issue of Washtenaw Impressions. The seal was drawn for the society by Carleton W. Angell, staff artist of the University Museums. Below the cut of the seal Mr. Angell makes an explanation of the seal's design and significance. The August issue is devoted to a history of the society, its constitution and bylaws, its present membership list, and a list of the presidents of the society.

Two local historical projects have been initiated by the Mason County Historical Society. The first is the beginning of a permanent collection of articles which played a part in the history of Mason County. A number of interesting items have already been collected and placed on display in the society's showcase in the court-house. The second project is the enrollment of all county residents at least seventy years of age and who have lived in the county at least twenty-five years as honorary members of the Mason County Historical Society. The society also arranged an exhibit of articles of historical value for a display at the Western Michigan Fair, September 19-23. Some of the items in the display were brought into the county by pioneers and many were documents of interest.

Bulletin number forty-eight of the William L. Clements Library, The Clements Library, 1950, is a brief description of the library, a little bit of its history, the nature of its materials, its publications, and a listing of the Clements Library Associates. The library's bulletin number fifty is One Hundred Michigan Rarities. Colton Storm, assistant director, in a forward to this bulletin says: "It is particularly important to issue One Hundred Michigan Rarities at this moment, because very shortly the University will establish a great memorial to Michigan alumni in World War II, the Michigan Memorial-Phoenix Project. The intention of the Phoenix Project

is to explore the impact of the atomic age on civilization. We feel that the Clements Library is peculiarly adapted to help in this undertaking, since the American past, from which the atomic world has sprung, is so fully documented in the Library. The present bulletin represents source materials of one part of the American story, Michigan. We who have the future of our State in mind dare not neglect what has happened here in the past."

ATTENTION IS FOCUSED UPON THIS, THE CENTENNIAL YEAR, of the University of Michigan's medical school in the summer number of the Michigan Alumnus by an article by Dr. F. Clever Bald, "One Hundred Years Ago: The Beginnings of the Medical School." Dr. Zina Pitcher, regent of the university and father of its medical school, after several years of petitioning the regents, won their approval to organize the medical department, the second department of the university. The first department to be organized was the department of literature, science and the arts. The medical school was opened to students in the fall of 1850. The school was housed in a beautiful new building whose construction the regents had agreed to. A faculty of five taught the six months course of lectures which began in October and continued until the middle of April. Four lectures and recitations were given daily except Saturdays. On Saturdays students read and defended theses on a medical or surgical subject. Students were required to have a new thesis ready every two weeks. At the end of the first term the seven senior members of the school were examined and all but one recommended for the medical degree. The theses of these six graduates, bound in a single volume, are to be found in the Michigan Historical Collections.

Phil Stong and his wife are among the fortunate few who have had the enjoyable experience of a voyage aboard a Great Lakes ore carrier. For the August issue of *Holiday* magazine Mr. Stong tells of their "Great Lakes Passage" aboard the *Benjamin F. Fairless* from Twin Harbors to Conneaut. The Stongs were delighted with the commodious quarters they were given and the roast beef and steaks that were fit for kings. Their explorations on shipboard revealed a galley that is a housewife's dream and a pilot house and engine room equipped with the last word in mechanical devices. The *Fairless*, one of five ships launched in 1942, has every facility for

carrying ore across the lakes. The radar equipment it carries makes it possible to go through fog without reducing speed. The Fairless carries 22,500 tons of ore and can travel at a speed of nearly fifteen miles an hour. At Conneaut the ore brought down from Two Harbors is unloaded and shipped down the last one hundred miles to the smelters of Pittsburg.

OF INTEREST TO MICHIGAN RESIDENTS is the work being accomplished by the Ohio Anthony Wayne Parkway Board. The Board was created by the Ohio legislature in 1947 to establish a memorial to Anthony Wayne and the other frontier soldiers who fought the Indians in the campaign of the Indian Wars in the 1790's. To keep those interested in the program abreast of its progress the Anthony Wayne Parkway Board will issue from time to time a newsletter called Mad Anthony's Drumbeat. The first issue in August reported on the society's various projects, plans for marking the trail, and made the announcement that the paper prepared by Dr. Dwight L. Smith. research historian of the Board, for the 1950 annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Oklahoma City, "Wayne's Peace with the Indians of the Old Northwest, 1795," is being printed as a separate. Copies will be mailed upon request. Address your inquiries to the Anthony Wayne Parkway Board, 15th and High Street, Columbus, 10, Ohio,

Percy W. Benjamin wrote a brief account of Thomas L. L. Brent and his family which was published in the *Michigan History Magazine*, 10:118-22 (January, 1926). Mr. Benjamin wishes to make the following statement concerning that account. "In my account I stated that a warrant for the arrest of Jarvis Bailey as the murderer of Mrs. Brent was issued. After the publication of my letter, I enlisted the interest of Miss Marian Packard, the historian of Flushing, in the matter. Her researches disclosed that I was in error about the man who was suspected of the crime; it was Devello Palmer, not Jarvis Bailey. A full account of this matter may be had by examining Miss Packard's manuscript Flushing Township Historical Collection in the possession of the Michigan State Library."

Reviews of Books

I Remember Detroit. By John C. Lodge. In collaboration with Milo M. Quaife. (Detroit, Wayne University Press, 1949. 208 p. Illustrations. Index. \$3.50.)

In 1862, when John C. Lodge was born, about 50,000 persons lived in Detroit. In the course of his long life of nearly eighty-eight years, Mr. Lodge's home town became nearly thirty times larger, made most of the world's automobiles, and furnished critical materiel for two world wars. All his life Mr. Lodge lived in Detroit and for many years played important roles in its affairs. Between 1886 and 1896 he rose from a reporter's beat to the city desk of the *Free Press*. Successively he was chief clerk of the Wayne County Board of Auditors, alderman, president of the council, and.

in 1928-29, mayor.

Unfortunately, Mr. Lodge, though a trained journalist, waited until his eighty-sixth year before he put on paper what he remembered of the momentous years covered by his lifetime. His memory was keen, but he did not always hit upon the significant aspects of the past. For instance, he could have interpreted the colorful Hazen S. Pingree administrations of 1890-97, but the five pages he devotes to them are anecdotal rather than interpretive. Such figures as Henry Ford and John and Horace Dodge appear only casually, as when Ford showed up in the mayor's office in April, 1928, and with Lodge walked up to the clock tower of the City Hall, as he had walked with Mrs. Ford on their wedding trip forty years before. If Mr. Lodge had any insights into Ford's character or philosophy he has not given them to the reader, except, of course, as such incidents reveal them. On the other hand, there is considerable material on such minor characters as Jim Scott and Billy Boushaw—material that would probably not show up in a more formal history.

This book is what it purports to be—a book of reminiscences. It was put into shape by Dr. Milo M. Quaife, who, with Miss Mabel Ford, visited Mr. Lodge in 1948 three times weekly for about three months, Dr. Quaife questioning when necessary and Miss Ford taking stenographic notes. Dr. Quaife has also contributed no less than forty-seven pages of notes, many

of them short biographical sketches of minor Detroiters.

I Remember Detroit gives the reader a rich supply of sidelights on the last seventy years of Detroit's history. But more than one reader will think how unfortunate it was that Mr. Lodge, who could have written a true "Inside Detroit," waited so long to preserve relatively so little of his vast store of information. Dr. Quaife and Miss Ford are to be congratulated for saving as much of it as they have.

Western Michigan College of Education

CHARLES R. STARRING

Suggestions for Celebrating Community Anniversaries. By Charles A. Anderson. (Lansing, Michigan Historical Commission, 1948. 5 p.) Your Community Writes Its History. By Karl F. Zeisler. (Lansing, Michigan History).

igan Historical Commission, 1949. 24 p.)

Our Community Heritage: What a Historical Society Should Do. By Henry D. Brown. (Lansing, Michigan Historical Commission, 1950. 16 p.)

A reprint of five articles listed in the bibliography of Your Community Writes Its History. (Lansing, Michigan State Library, 1949. 17 p.)

This is a most interesting and unusual collection of materials on local history and related organizations. The packet is the result of the determination made by a committee of the Historical Society of Michigan to offer some experienced leadership and guidance to persons and communities in the maintenance or organization of local historical activities. To a surprising degree, these articles are explicit and practical. From the most diverse sources this committee and Lewis Beeson, secretary of the Historical Society of Michigan, have secured these eight articles which they have

here inexpensively reproduced.

Mr. Anderson's article on celebrating community anniversaries is complete and stimulating. I would dread, however, going into an extensive celebration without one additional element to his suggested organization. A steering or executive committee is an essential and its core should be a person with power to say yes or no. There is an essential executive function which must be performed: the coordination of diverse efforts, the resolution of conflicts, the rescue expeditions when essential work bogs down, the handling of the bluffers, the shysters and the zealots—these do not show on an organization chart but the skill with which these tasks are performed will to a large measure determine the success of the celebration. Incidentally, he who does them needs also "the wisdom of a serpent" if he is to be able to stay in town after the celebration is over. This is the reason why, in so many places, a professional executive is secured even when local talent is available.

Mr. Zeisler's article on writing community history is on a subject which has come forward repeatedly in the other articles, both in connection with historical celebrations and the operation of the local society. Mr. Zeisler has made a number of excellent suggestions on scope, topic, and method and has added a very valuable bibliography both on method of writing and some illustrative works on local history, particularly illustrating the Michigan scene. Mr. Zeisler is inviting the amateurs to wade in and to start by swimming though it will seem to some of them a little discouraging that practically all of the "better" works that he lists in his bibliography are done by professionals with historical training.

This reviewer wishes at this spot to interpose a very mild protest. We do not offer the still life of a fruit bowl which Aunt Minnie did when she

was a girl to the Metropolitan Art Museum. One can paint or write poems or study history without feeling that if the whole world does not see and admire, the effort has been a failure. The accumulation and organization of historical material, the preparation of a typescript copy, perhaps even the circulation in the local community of some very inexpensive form of reproduction—these in the large number of cases should be the limit of ambition. Book publishing is terribly expensive, calls for technical skill, and, held before the local organization as an objective, could well create such difficulties as to wreck the best of plans.

Mr. Brown's discussion of the function and method of the local historical society rests on his extensive experience, both in the city of Detroit and outside of it. Perhaps because of this experience the suggestions which he makes are pointed and sometimes even blunt. He will save the new or unwary museum committee much grief; if you must have a museum, pay attention to him. Particularly important are his warnings against that major curse of the local society, the tendency to grow inward. His emphasis on community relations, both the utilization of other organizations or school connections and his constant emphasis on purpose—these are all to the good. The other articles are less elaborate than these three and tend to center around some one or two aspects of local historical work.

One thing becomes clear after one reads this packet as a whole. No one has yet decided what to do with manuscripts discovered, with local collections of personal papers, and other such important data. School activity, celebrations, and newspaper accounts will certainly turn up such material that should be saved but there is no answer to the question of where or how. Each community will improvise its answers to this and will thus compromise among its fears of loss by fire, loss by disbursal, and loss by alienation.

One big omission in the otherwise full coverage is the absence of any reference to business history or indeed to the business use of and support of historical activity. I hope it will be possible to find and add to this packet the excellent discussion of this problem of business support which was given in a paper before the Historical Society of Michigan at the Grand Rapids meeting by Mr. Reuben Ryding. This discussion had to do primarily with the value which business concerns could get out of the exploitation of local history and local historical interest, a value sufficiently great to justify them in the support of such activity. Perhaps it will be possible to find somewhere something on the writing of local business history, the biographies of local business concerns.

This packet is unique in its conception, is simple, practical, and will certainly prove helpful throughout the state. The secretary of the society and the committee which outlined the project and which in some cases stimulated the production of the articles, are to be congratulated on their success. This is a real contribution.

Wayne University

RAYMOND C. MILLER

Timberland Times. By Eugene Davenport. (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1950. 274 p. Illustrations. \$3.00.)

How to turn the basic material of pioneer history into readable description is a perennial problem. Much material of that kind is written by persons unskilled in the use of words. The result often makes dreary reading; it may be valuable as raw material but frequently it has little appeal to the reading public.

For pioneer life in the Grand River Valley in Michigan the job has been done magnificently in a recently published book called *Timberland Times*. The author is the late Eugene Davenport, dean of the college of agriculture at the University of Illinois from 1895 to 1922. Although the book is a 1950 publication, internal evidence shows that some of the later chapters were written as long ago as 1933. Why it was not published long since is not explained in the volume.

Eugene Davenport's parents settled as a young married couple in the timberland area of the Grand River Valley a decade or so before the opening of the Civil War. The village of Ionia was their nearest trading center. Their log cabin was built in the primeval forest; there were no roads at first and they had no contact of any kind with town life.

The young father of the family came from New England, the mother from Ohio. They and their neighbors converted a stark wilderness of timber into a prosperous farming community, ruthlessly burning trees that today would bring a fortune in lumber; they had to, to clear the soil for crops, and of course there was no market for the lumber and no way of getting it to the outside world. The pioneers did their job with little more to aid them than an ax and a saw. And they lived a life as completely self-contained as it was possible to do at that time, and as it is no longer possible to do today.

It was into such a community that the boy, Eugene Davenport, was born, and it was there that he grew to young manhood. What was that life like? How did he and his parents and neighbors live?

Those were the questions that the author set himself to answer, after he had reached old age. After his professional life in Illinois as an educator, he went back to the scenes of his boyhood to live, and it was there that he did at least some of his work on the book. Much of it also appears to have been composed over a long period of years, as the author tried consciously to relive in imagination the life he had lived in Michigan. The writing of the book was obviously a labor of love.

Now Eugene Davenport was not a literary artist. The book is sometimes repetitive, and the author is often unable to evoke that precious atmosphere that is the life giving oxygen of such a record. As a result *Timberland Times* is not a great work of art; it remains to a large extent the raw material of such a work.

But it has the very great merit of being highly readable. And the author knows his facts because he has lived them. He seems to have felt that

someone ought to put those facts down on paper before they should be lost forever. His is not the mere wordy diary of the literarily garrulous retired pioneer, of the person who thinks that a detailed description of a stomach ache is important because the ache was his own.

When he began to write, Mr. Davenport had lived away from the scene of his material the greater part of his life, and so he could regard his boyhood in the Grand River Valley objectively, although he also continued to regard it with affection. The result is a book that holds the reader from beginning to end.

How did those pioneers build their log houses? What were their barnraisings like? How did they convert the sap from a forest of maples into
a cash crop of thousands of pounds of sugar? Just how did they cut down
and later ruthlessly burn those magnificent oaks and maples and elms and
hemlock? What was the social life of the community like? What was the
nature of the protracted revival meetings at which they gave their starved
emotions free play? What provision did they make for schools, and what
were the pioneer schoolmasters like? What did the women wear, and
how were courtships carried on? On what kind of diet did these hardy
people live? What was the nature of their family and community humor?
In short, what was life like in the Grand River Valley in Michigan in the
middle of the nineteenth century?

These and hundreds of other questions are answered in the book. The record makes *Timberland Times* a valuable addition to the literature about the pioneers of Michigan.

Graceful illustrations for chapter headings were furnished by Lois Tukey Baker, granddaughter of the author.

Kalamazoo College

ARNOLD MULDER

The Significance of Sections in American History. By Frederick Jackson Turner. (New York, Peter Smith, 1950. [ix], 347 p. Index and maps. \$4.25.)

Frederick Jackson Turner's Significance of Sections in American History is a book worth reading more than once. The twelve articles and essays originally published between 1895 and 1926, though not prepared to constitute a book, seemed to their author to have a unity as studies "of the various sections of the United States, both internally and in their mutual relations with each other and the federal government." Turner was not wrong in his evaluation of the studies of half a lifetime. His interpretation of sectionalism has apparently stood the tests of criticism more firmly than his frontier thesis.

But there is something else in *The Significance of Sections* evident now, more than half a century after some of the articles were written, that may have been hidden even from their author. Besides their unity, these essays reveal a diversity of character of great interest.

The first one shows the wholesome soundness of the historian reviewing "Problems in American History." Though more than forty years have passed since it was prepared, and both the subject matter and styles of writing have changed greatly, the article is just as penetrating and judicious as in 1906. Two others reveal the clarity and skill with which Turner related diplomatic history to his favorite subjects, sections and frontier. Friends and critics of the historian who think of his work in local or provincial terms may be reminded by those essays that he was no narrow antiquarian.

A third feature in several of the articles is a reflection of the attitudes, interests, and beliefs of the early twentieth century which helps to give them a special period quality. They remind us that Turner was a man of his own times, particularly in his enthusiasm for social science methods, and in his confidence in the value of results obtained by them.

But the most lasting impression of all comes from the deep idealism, the pervasive humanity of the historian in his concern for men of both past and future times. Few historians have so completely exemplified in their writings those elements of a major American tradition. Even fewer have done so with the firmness and discipline here displayed. The cult of objectivity today has led many followers in historical craft to deny themselves the spiritual richness to be derived from acknowledging a share in the tradition. Since Turner's death the human element has been too frequently perverted toward base ends. Once more in this republication the Turner synthesis appears in writing, as it must have done in his teaching, to inspire Americans to study the story of their land. To read these works of Frederick Jackson Turner is thus in consequence not only to read a series of sound, informative, and stimulating essays, but to share through him in this great American inheritance.

Duke University

HARRY R. STEVENS

Lucas County Tourists' Guide. By Kathryn Miller Keller. (Toledo, Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio, 1950. 69 p. Illustrations and index. \$.75)

History is something to be studied and something to be read before a glowing fire on a winter evening, but it is also something to be read on a summer day—aloud—by one who sits beside the driver. Even as Francis Parkman followed the trails of explorers and war parties and Samuel Eliot Morison sailed in the wake of Columbus, so the student of history must supplement his reading with some meticulous observing.

For the peripatetic reader of history the organization must be neither chronological, nor logical, nor alphabetical, but rather it must be lineal. It should follow lines from point to point. It must, as does this guide to Lucas County, Ohio, instruct the reader-pilgrim to "return to River Road and continue a few yards to Turkey Foot Rock." The stranger needs to be told not only what to see, but how to see it.

Monuments and markers are not enough. Without such a guide as this one to the Toledo region, one may travel the River Road from Maumee and find the Falling Timbers subdivision but search overlong for the monument to Mad Anthony Wayne. Without this guide one may find Turkey Foot Rock but miss its significance and the fact that it has migrated. There is need for historical markers but they should be readable at fifty miles an hour-that he who rides may read (to distort further a transposed passage). But only a published guide can illuminate these sites fully.

This Guide takes one easily back to Mad Anthony Wayne at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, to Indians beside mounds that once were higher, to the British defiantly building Fort Miami, to the Irish who carved the Miami and Erie Canal and left churches as even more enduring monuments, to the horses that broke legs on the Cordurov Road (one such road still bears the collective name), to the horse-drawn cars of the Erie and Kalamazoo Railroad, to fugitive slaves sleeping in cellars before their passage to Canada, and to John N. Willys who built automobiles.

History may or may not be lucid, history may or may not be entertaining, but history must be accurate, or it ceases to be history. The author of a tourist guide is tempted to print the dubious story if only to conciliate local pride or fill a gap along an uninteresting highway. Miss Keller's stewardship has been good in this respect. She has made a conscientious effort to separate known history from believed history. One who lives in Michigan could ask no better evidence of accuracy from an Ohioan than this: "Though surely Michigan's claims to the Toledo area were strong almost beyond question, Ohio ... won the disputed territory."

The Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio is to be commended and emulated. Michigan's regional, county, and city historical societies could perform a major service by undertaking such projects.

Michigan State College

MADISON KUHN

Rainy River Country: A Brief History of the Region Bordering Minnesota and Ontario. By Grace Lee Nute. (St. Paul, The Minnesota Historical Society, 1950. [xiii], 143 p. Illustrations, bibliography and index. \$2.00.)

This is a companion volume to Miss Nute's well known accounts of the border lake country of Minnesota and Ontario. Designed to accompany The Voyageur's Highway, it portrays "the story of the border country to the west-the region of the Rainy River and the two lakes it joins, Rainy Lake and the Lake of the Woods.'

The "story" in this case turns out to be an economic history of the development of a specific geographical region. In fact, Miss Nute's own division of the history of the borderlands into two eras, "B.D." (Before the Dam) and "A.D." (After the Dam) attests to this particular kind of treatment.

The "B.D." portion, comprising a little over half of the volume, is the better part of the book. It is written with the same careful scholarship and thoroughness which has characterized Miss Nute's work and it adequately covers the development of the area from earliest times. The fur trade and the early lumbering industry are noted and a very colorful and picturesque account of the "Steamboat Era" and the opening of the Dawson Route makes for enjoyable reading. The beginnings of agricultural settlement, commercial fishing, and the impact of the discovery of gold on the border country completes the account.

Among the acknowledgments, mention is made of the Minnesota and Ontario Paper Company. It would not be quite correct to say that the two eras designated by the author are treated as "Before the Minnesota and Ontario Paper Company," and after, though the "A.D." section of the book quite obviously becomes an account of the wood pulp industry of the region in general and of the Minnesota and Ontario Paper Company in particular.

This specific business organization is mentioned so frequently and generously that after a few pages the formal appellation is dropped and the author speaks merely of "the company." By then, even the most casual reader has no difficulty in identifying the reference.

Undoubtedly "the company" was in a large way instrumental in the modern development of the region "A.D." Miss Nute's record of scholarship is well known and certainly her familiarity with this area and its long history lends validity to her statements. However, if the reader had been forewarned that this was primarily an account of the economic development of this region, the impact of the very largeness of the role of this one company would not have been quite so overwhelming. Perhaps a more balanced treatment would have given us an equally adequate picture of the industry of the region "A.D."

These criticisms do not detract from Miss Nute's usual careful and accurate form. It is well written and very readable though somewhat overly eloquent at times. Certainly the book adds to the general picture of the story of this particular region. The volume is well illustrated, contains a bibliography and a usable index.

Michigan State College

Douglas Dunham

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Compiled and edited by Clarence E. Carter. Volume 17: The Territory of Illinois, 1814-1818. (Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1950. [v], 750 p. \$4.00.)

The present volume is the second and last in the territorial series relating to Illinois. Opening with documents describing the unsuccessful attempt to reinforce the garrison at Prairie du Chien in July, 1814, during the War of 1812, the book contains selected papers through the admission of

Illinois to the Union, December 3, 1818. In addition, the last part consists of the "Executive Register for the Territory of Illinois, 1809-1818," the official record of proclamations, appointments, and other acts of the governor.

Although Illinois had entered the second stage of government in 1812 and had a delegate in Congress, a council, and an assembly, the principal figure in this volume is Ninian Edwards, the only man who served as governor of the territory. Coming from Kentucky, where he had been president of the Court of Appeals, he understood western men and frontier needs. The people had confidence in him, and the legislature cooperated with him readily. Edwards was one of the most capable territorial governors.

The reader who has some knowledge of Michigan history will find in this volume numerous interesting similarities between Illinois and Michigan. Both were carved out of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio; both had a large number of French-speaking inhabitants; in both private titles to land were vague; and Lewis Cass, governor of Michigan during this period, also had lived in the West and understood the people of his territory.

Many of the problems of one governor were common to the other. Both had to deal with hostile Indians during and after the War of 1812, with British traders who tried to retain their influence over the Indians, with settlers eager to occupy the vacant public lands, and with officials in the East who had little knowledge of conditions in the West. In both territories, many years passed before private land claims were adjusted.

There were also a number of differences. The population of Illinois grew much more rapidly than that of Michigan, soon making the French a negligible minority. Statehood came after only ten years, whilst Michigan was a territory for thirty-two. Coming largely from Kentucky and Tennessee, immigrants to Illinois formed a southern majority which wrote protection for existing slavery into the constitution. Slavery was not an important problem in Michigan; but because she refused to accept the Ohio boundary line, Michigan was not admitted to statehood until a year and a half after she had written her constitution. Illinois, on the other hand, waited to make her constitution until after Congress had passed an enabling act, and was speedily received into the Union. The enabling act, by the way, attached to Michigan Territory the region north of Illinois.

It is interesting to notice that Governor Cass had jurisdiction over the Indian agencies at Green Bay and Chicago, although they were in Illinois Territory. Probably because they were distant from his capital, Kaskaskia, and because he had sufficient Indian trouble nearer home, Governor Edwards seems not to have resented this invasion of his bailiwick. Incidentally, the agent at Chicago was Charles Jouett, who had earlier served at Detroit, and his interpreter was John Kinzie, a former Detroiter.

Another familiar name which appears in this volume is that of Stanley Griswold, a judge of Illinois Territory from 1810 until his death in 1815. Previously, as secretary of Michigan Territory, his erratic and quarrelsome behavior caused him to be dismissed by President Thomas Jefferson. In

Illinois he served quietly and without distinction.

Adequate documentation and an excellent index make this volume, like those which have preceded it, an invaluable source of information for scholars. Dr. Carter is to be congratulated on the publication of his latest addition to the monumental territorial series which he continues so ably to edit.

University of Michigan

F. CLEVER BALD

Contributors

Discussions with historian colleagues on the respective roles of economists and historians produced the article prepared for this issue by Richard M. Alt, associate professor of marketing at Johns Hopkins University. Mr. Alt is especially interested in economic analysis of problems of business management. He is a frequent contributor to economic and marketing journals and wrote, in collaboration with William C. Bradford of Northwestern University, Business Economics which is soon to be published by Richard D. Irwin, Incorporated.

Dr. Harold M. Helfman teaches American history at Ohio State University. He first appeared in the September, 1949 issue of Michigan History as author of "Party Politics and Michigan Prisons, 1883-85." In the past year Dr. Helfman has written articles for Pennsylvania History, the Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, and the Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology.

With the publication of part three of "The Lake Superior Copper Fever, 1841-47" we conclude Robert James Hybels' interesting story of Michigan copper. Mr. Hybels is a teacher in the high school in Rockland, a small village on the Maine coast.

For relaxation after completing his study of *Detroit's First American Decade*, published in 1948 by the University of Michigan Press, Dr. F. Clever Bald turned to the records under his charge in the Michigan Historical Collections at the University of Michigan. Dr. Bald's account of the balloon ascent at Adrian is one result of his studies. He offers it to the readers of *Michigan History* with the thought that "perhaps it will be more attractive to many readers than the heavily documented papers I have previously written."

Irving I. Katz is executive secretary of Temple Beth El, Detroit. He is the author of many articles and papers in the field of synagogue administration and has lectured extensively on this subject from coast to coast. Mr. Katz has written numerous articles on the history of the Jews in Michigan which have appeared in Michigan History, the Bulletin of the Detroit Historical Society, the Detroit Jewish Chronicle, the Detroit Jewish News, and the Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society.

Allen A. Warsen is a Detroit public school teacher and educational director of the Northwest Hebrew Congregation. He has been a frequent contributor to the American Unity Magazine and the Detroit Tribune and recently published a brochure, The Religious School of the Northwest Hebrew Congregation. Mr. Warsen is now preparing a manual to be entitled, The Detroit Jewish Community.

The tribute to the late John M. Munson appearing in this issue was written by Dr. James B. Edmonson, dean of the school of education at the University of Michigan. Dr. Edmonson was a long time associate and friend of John Munson. Dr. Edmonson, an outstanding figure in the state and national field of education, is the author of more than a dozen books on educational problems and school administration. He is a frequent contributor to educational journals.

Mrs. Mildred Gulick is a student and recorder of local history. Her home is near Shepherd. After many years' research she has completed the manuscript of her family genealogy. "Swing Your Pardner, Right and Left" is chapter five of her book length genealogy entitled, My Ancestors Were Human. Mrs. Gulick is at present completing work on an historical novel, Grand River Echo.

Alice Cook was born in Detroit in 1923, graduated from Wayne University, and taught in the Detroit Public Schools. In 1948 she received a master's degree in history from the University of Michigan. At present she is a reference assistant in the Detroit Public Library and will receive her master's degree in library science in February, 1951.

The review of Marguerite Merington's The Custer Story which appeared in the September, 1950 issue of Michigan History described Mrs. Merington as Mrs. Custer's "literary and personal secretary." We wish to correct this statement. Mrs. Merington was an established writer when she first met Mrs. Custer. As the years passed she became her most intimate friend. It was Mrs. Custer's wish that her friend, upon her death, do what she deemed fit with her papers and private correspondence.

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Errata

page 19, line 7, for President Willard Polk read President James K. Polk page 59, line 23, for Eugene C. Elliott read Eugene B. Elliott

page 103, line 9, for George F. Potter read George F. Porter

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